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# MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 66

# Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material

BY

HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.

*Late Government Epigraphist for India*

*Price Rs. 8-2 or 13s.*

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HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.Lit.

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# PREFACE

OF all Buddhist sites excavated by the Archæological Survey, Nālandā has proved the most prolific as regards inscriptions. Although the results of excavation are noticed year by year in the Annual Reports, it was unfortunate that no complete account was prepared before Mr. Page the officer responsible for the bulk of the excavation retired from the Survey in 1932. To remedy this defect, so far as the numerous seals, copper plates and stone inscriptions are concerned, the work was happily entrusted to the then Government Epigraphist, Dr. Hirananda Sastri who brought to bear on this task his ripe scholarship and his intimate knowledge of Nālandā. Dr. Sastri, however, retired in 1933 before he could give finishing touches to his work and this task fell on his successor Dr. Chakravarti, who had necessarily to verify all the readings from the original material at Nālandā, in course of which considerable difference of readings were brought out. Minor emendations have been made in Dr. Sastri's text, but wherever it was felt necessary the points of difference are indicated in footnotes by Dr. Chakravarti as Editor.

K. N. DIKSHIT.

*15th July, 1939.*

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# NALANDA AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL

## INTRODUCTION.

*Prefatory remarks.*—This Memoir deals particularly with the epigraphical material discovered at Nālandā since the excavations began in 1916. It also notices in general the sculptures which have been recovered from the site during the same period. As I was conducting the exploration of the site in 1920-21 it is indeed gratifying to me to get an opportunity to describe the antiquities from Nālandā. The late Dr. Spooner[1] started the excavation of this important site in 1916 from funds contributed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland but since 1917 the work has been financed by the Government of India and conducted under the supervision of the Archæological Superintendent at Patna. Mr. A. M. Broadley[2] excavated the site in the seventies and gave an account of his work as well as of the remains he noticed on the site and around it in his book named '*Ruins of Nalanda Monasteries at Bargaon*' (Calcutta, 1872). No part of the site can be considered to have been completely examined as yet, though several monastic buildings and *Stūpas* have now been exposed fully.

Nālandā figures in ancient literature of about the 4th or 5th century B.C., no doubt, but we have not been able so far to get at any relic from the site which can be definitely assigned to an epoch prior to that of the Imperial Guptas.

That Nālandā is the same ancient seat of Buddhist learning which the great Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang has described so vividly in his itinerary and where he spent the major portion of his stay in India does not require any demonstration now. The situation exactly corresponds with the description given by the pilgrims from abroad. The excavations have yielded hundreds, nay, thousands of ancient relics which bear the name Nālandā. All of them cannot be extraneous. The identification of Nālandā, based as it is on the overwhelming evidence of these antiques, must now be treated as settled.

*Situation.*—Nālandā lies some seven miles to the South-west of Bihār Sharīf, the headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in the Patna District of Bihār. Bihār Sharīf was first known as Bihār evidently on account of the large number of the *vihāras* or monasteries which stood in and around it. The remains of an old fort covering some 312 acres of land, which we see here, have not been excavated yet, but it is not unlikely that they contain the ruins of a *vihāra*, probably Uddaṇḍapurī-Mahāvihāra itself, which, on account of the *Tāntric* ideas inculcated there, seems to have become very popular about the 7th and the 8th century after Christ. The Otantapurī of the *Pag Sam Jon Zang*[3]

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[1] *Annual Progress Report, Eastern Circle, Archl. Survey.* 1915-16, p. 34.

[2] Ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. clii.

[3] His identification of Bargāoñ with Vihāragrāma, which has been accepted by some writers, should be abandoned as erroneous. See *infra* p. 4.

must be traced to this locality, for, the great shrine of that name stood in the neighbourhood of Nālandā. This book takes *otanta* in the sense of 'soaring on high' in which case the name might be derived from the Sanskrit *uḍḍayana, ud-yanta* meaning "going up or flying". On account of the high mansions (*prāsā-das*) and of the sublime teachings preached there, this town (*purī*) could well be so called. There is no wonder if the *Uḍḍiyānatantra* originated here.[1] The brass image inscription discovered in the town of Bihār,[2] which reads,

> *Ōṁ dēyadharm[ō]-yaṁ śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladēva-rājyē*
> *Saṁvat 54, śrī-Uddaṇḍapura-vāstavya-Rāṇaka-*
> *Uchaputra-Ṭhārukasya*

would show that the name of the town was *Uddaṇḍapura.* Uddaṇḍapurī (or °pura) was the earlier town and its citadel must have been in existence when the inscribed pillar of Skandagupta, which has been removed to the Patna Museum stood there. But for the importance of the town the pillar would not have been erected there. Apparently it had become the stronghold of the *Vajrayānists* who held the day in the declining period of Buddhism in India. This town seems to have superseded Pāṭaliputra in importance during the reign of the Pālas when it became the capital of Magadha. Its reputation attracted the adventurer Muhammad, son of Ba<u>kh</u>tyār <u>Kh</u>alji, who razed it to the ground and put to sword not only the 'high and low' of this place but the inhabitants of the adjoining Nālandā as well. Tradition would make Rohtās as the seat of Government at that time, and we know that when the said adventurer marched into the fort, he found nothing there but a *vihāra* or monastery. Minhāj-i-Sirāj gives an amusing account of the fall of this ancient seat of learning in his *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri.*[3] Muhammad is said to have gone to the gate of the fort of Bihār with only two hundred horsemen and started the fight by taking the enemies unawares. With great vigour and audacity he rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into his hands. Most of the inhabitants 'with shaven heads' were put to death. Numberless books found there were all burnt to ashes. Large *vihāras* stood not only at Uddaṇḍapura, but at Nālandā, Yaśōvarmapura, the modern Ghosrāwañ and several other adjacent places. In consequence of these monasteries the whole tract was known as *Vihāra.* As shown by the '*Āin-i-Akbarī*' there was a separate *Sūbah* of Bihār during the reign of Akbar which contained 46 *mahals* and had an area of 952,598 *bīghas* of land, yielding the revenue of 8,31,96,390 *dāms.* This *Sūbah* of Bihār contained, besides Bihār, the "*Sircārs*" of Munghīr, Champāran, Hājipur, Sāran, Tirhut and Rohtās. In the beginning of the British rule, the *Sūbah* of Bihār was united with that of Bengal, both being put under one Government. The *zilah* or district of Bihār (or the tract round the ancient Uddaṇḍapurī) was divided into *zilah* Paṭnā and *zilah* Gayā. In 1864, the *parganas* of Bihār and Rājgīr were detached from Gayā, and, together with three more *parganas,* were joined into one sub-division within the juridiction of the *zilah* or district of Paṭnā.

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[1] [Uḍḍiyāna is probably to be located in the Swat valley, see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VI, pp. 580 ff.—Ed.]
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xlvii, p. 110.
[3] *The History of India as told by its own Historians* by Sir H. M. Elliot, London, 1869, Vol. II, p. 306.

The old *Sūbah* of Bihār has now ceased to exist. The affix *Sharif* distinguishes this town from other Bihārs and seems to have been added out of reverence to the Musalmān Saint Shāh Sharīf-ud-din Makhdum who lies entombed on the south of the town. In 1911 a new province including Chutiā Nāgpur was formed and the name of Bihār given to it. The seat of Government was again brought to the place where the glorious old Pāṭaliputra once stood. From a monastery Bihār rose to a "*Sūbah*" and from "*Sūbah*" it has become a large province of some 42,361 square miles with a population of more than three crores of inhabitants.

*Name of Nālandā and its etymology.*—Nālandā must be a very old name, for it was current at the time of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra and of Gautama Buddha, *i.e.*, about the sixth century B.C. To call it Nālanda, Nalanda or Nālēndra is certainly a mistake.[1] The designation ends in long *ā* and the forms like Nālandāyām[2] (*loc. sing.*) occurring in the Jaina and Buddhist books and inscriptions written in Sanskrit, noticed in the sequel, would clearly show that it was used in the feminine gender.

It may be stated here in passing that the name 'Nālanda' (ending in short *a*) current in Ceylon where it is applied to a fort built by Parākramabāhu about 1166 A.D. and to the Buddhist shrine attached thereto, is different from this Nālandā which ends in long *ā*. The Sinhalese word "*landa*" signifies a high ground with low jungle and there are numerous place-names in Ceylon ending in this word, the first member of the compound being invariably the name of a tree. *Nā* in Nālanda means 'iron-wood tree' and the name might be interpreted as 'a high ground with low jungle of iron-wood trees'.[3] There might have been a village of this name after which the fortress and the *shrine* were designated. The shrine, it is interesting to note, is of Indian style as will be shown by the accompanying illustration (Pl. I*a*). I inspected the shrine in December 1933.[4] The remains of what appeared to be a *Stūpa* and several images were seen lying scattered on the site and placed in the niches of the temple as seen in the accompanying photograph. Some of the images are of the Buddha and the rest are Mahāyānistic in character. This Nālanda shrine might have been built about the ninth century when Mahāyānism seems to have predominated in Ceylon.[5]

The etymology of the name is uncertain. Different derivations have been proposed. The one given by Hsüan Tsang[6] is evidently an instance of *Nidāna-*

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[1] Cunningham *A., S. R.*, I., p. 28; *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Majmudar, p. 537; Tārānāth and "*The Life of Nāgārjuna* from Tibetan and Chinese sources" by N. Wallesar (Reprint from "*Asia Major*" Hirth Anniversary Volume-Lepzig) pp. 15, etc. Beal, *Buddhist Records*. Vol. II, p. 167.

[2] *Dīghanikāya*, I, p. 1, Nālandā copper-plate, *E. I.* Vol. XVII, etc.

[3] [The spelling of this name as found in the *Cūlavaṁsa* is Nālandā (ed. P. T. S-ch. 70, vv. 167, 207 and ch. 72, v. 169) as in the other Pāli Texts. To me it appears that the derivation given above is a late learned one and that the name was actually given following that of the famous *vihāra* in India. For other similar names borrowed from India cf. Uruvela, Jetavanārāma, etc.—Ed.]

[4] I may be permitted to express here my idebtedness to the Archæological Department of the Ceylon Government for giving me an opportunity of seeing almost all the important archæological monuments of Ceylon and for bearing our (my wife was accompanying me) travelling expenses.

[5] See *An. Rep. Archl. Survey*, Ceylon, 1910-11, p. 42 and Plates LVIII-LXII.

[6] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 167. The term has now migrated to London where it has a assumed the role of the residence of Rhys Davids! (See *Vibhaṅga*, 2nd Book of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* (1904). Ed. by Mrs. R. Davids, p. XXI.)

*gāthā* or popular etymology, *i.e.*, an endeavour to explain the name by a story. According to it the word Nālandā is derived from *Na alam dā* and means 'no end in gifts', or 'charity without intermission'. The story which Hsüan Tsang gives to explain the term is this: Tathāgata in old days lived here as a great Bōdhisattva. He was a king who had established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for living things, he took delight in continually relieving them and in remembrance of that virtue the locality was named Nālandā.[1] According to I-Tsing the place was named after the Nāga Nanda.[2] One might believe in the assimilation of *ga* and *na* and allow the insertion of *l* for euphony. But how to explain the final *ā* if this was the origin? I am of the opinion that the locality was so called on account of the *nālas* or lotus-stalks in which it abounded. Even now Nālandā has many lotus-ponds which yield lotus-stalks in great abundance and in the season time a number of people are seen daily taking out the *nālas* or lotus-stalks for sale in the market. I saw this very often during my stay at Nālandā. In that case the name would signify "the giver of lotus-stalks" and would be quite appropriate.

*Bargāoñ.*—Close to the site of Nālandā there is a village by the name of Bargāoñ. Till recently the railway station leading to the site was called Bargāoñ after this village and I am glad that my suggestion to call it by the name of Nālandā was approved by the authorities concerned and the Railway station itself began to be called Nālandā as it ought to be. Bargāoñ is a fairly old name for it was current in the 16th Century, as would be evidenced by the following quotations from the *Pūrvadēśachaityaparipāṭi*, written by Pandit Haṁsasoma in the year 1565 of the Vikrama era (=1508 A.D.) and the *Samētaśikharatīrthamālā* composed by Pandit Vijayasāgara, a Tapāgachchha monk about the Vikrama saṁvat 1700 (*i.e.*, 1623 A.D.). The former says:—

*Nālandai pāḍai chauda chaumāsa suṇījai*
*Hauḍā lokaprasiddha te Baḍagāma kahījai*
*Solāṁ prāsāda tihāṁ achchhai Jina-bimba namījai.*

*i.e.*, "Nālandā (was) a suburb (of Rājagṛiha) where, we hear, Mahāvīra spent fourteen rainy seasons. Now it is called Baḍagāma. There are sixteen temples where Jaina images are worshipped." The latter gives:—

*Bāhirī Nālanda pāḍo*
*Suṇayo tassa puṇya pavāḍo*
*Vira chauda rahā chaumāsa*
*Hauḍā Baḍagāma nivāsa.*

*i.e.*, "Outside (of Rājagṛiha) there is the pāḍa[3] (suburb or hamlet) named Nālandā. Imagine its pious fame where Vīra (*i.e.*, the great Jina Mahāvīra) resided for fourteen *chaumāsas* or rainy seasons. Now it is known as Baḍagāma (Bargāoñ)." These quotations would show that at the time when the above mentioned pilgrims came here the locality was called *Baḍagāma* and not Nālandā. Nālandā was deserted and fell into ruins after the Musalman invasion,

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[1] *Loc. Cit.*

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, N. S. XIII, 1881, p. 571. [According to Hsüan Tsang it was so called after Nāga Nālanda. See Beal, *loc. cit.* Vol. II, p. 167.—Ed.]

[3] *Pāḍā* (*pāṛā*) according to H. H. Wilson's glossary of terms is an outlying village or hamlet.

*i.e.*, about 1200 A.D. The name was current during the time of the later Pālas[1] as is evidenced by the colophons of several manuscripts. The village of Bargāoñ continued to be the place of pilgrimage. The Hindus would visit it for its Sūraj-Kuṇḍ and the Jains, on account of its being the birth-place of Gotama Indrabhūti, a chief disciple of Mahāvīra. The Sūraj-Kuṇḍ is a tank which is sacred to the Sun god. The water in it is believed to possess healing properties. In the evening a beautiful reflection of the setting sun is seen in it. It is incorrect to say, as some writers have done, that the name of Bargāoñ is modern.[2] The word is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit term *Vaṭagrāma* which is an old name. The change of *Vaṭagrāma* into Bargāoñ is an ordinary one. Apparently the locality was so named after some prominent banyan tree or trees which stood on it.[3]

*Sārichak.*—In connection with Nālandā it will not be out of place to make a mention of Sārichak, a hamlet of Bargāoñ lying close by towards the south-west of it. The fragments of sculptures which have been found here would indicate that ancient relics are lying hidden in the dèbris and that the locality is an old one. The name Sārichak reminds us of Sāriputra, the right hand disciple of the Buddha and I feel rather inclined to identify the locality with the birth-place of that great Buddhist monk of yore. That Sāriputra was born at a place not far off from Nālandā does not stand in need of demonstration. Both Fa Hian and Hsüan Tsang agree in saying that his birth-place lay somewhere near Nālandā. According to Fa Hian, he was born at Kulika and according to Hsüan Tsang, at Kālapināka.[4] The latter says, "South-east from the spot where Bimbisāra-rāja met Buddha, at a distance of about 20 li, we come to the town of Kālapināka (Kia-lo-pi-na-kia). In this town is a *stūpa* which was built by Aśōka-rāja. This is the place where Sāriputra, the venerable one, was born. The well of the place still exists. By the side of the place is a *stūpa*. This is where the venerable one obtained *nirvāṇa*: the relics of his body, therefore, are enshrined therein." Mudgalaputra or Mahāmōggalāna, the left-hand disciple of the Master, according to the same authority, was born at the village of *Kulika* (Kiu-li-kia), lying 8 or 9 li, *i.e.*, about 1½ miles to the south-west of Nālandā.[5] The spot where this great monk reached *nirvāṇa* was marked by a *stūpa* in which the remains of his body were enshrined. The situation of *Kulika* would correspond to the present Jagdīsh-pur and Cunningham was probably right in locating the birth-place of Mudgala-putra near it. Both of these celebrities, namely, Sāriputra and Mudgalaputra, it would appear from the account given by the said pilgrims, were born within the ancient limits of the old Nālandā. The first component part of the name *Sārichak* might be a reminiscence of the name of the venerable monk's mother

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[1] R. D. Banerjee, *The Pālas of Bengal* (Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V), pp. 75, 93, *etc.*

[2] The late Drs. Bloch and V. Smith were evidently wrong in treating Bargāoñ as a *modern* name. V. Smith (*Early History of India*, p. 312) seems to have followed Bloch (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 440).

In the fourth edition (p. 330) this view has been adopted but the name Bargāon is wrongly considered to be modern.

[3] *The Imperial Gazetteer* (Vol. VI, p. 425) where Bargāoñ is identified with Vihāragrāma, requires correction. Broadley's somewhat dogmatic view that "Burgaon has been identified beyond the possibility of a doubt with the *Vihāragrāma*, on the outskirts of which, more than 1,000 years ago, flourished the great Nālandā Monastery, the most magnificient and most celebrated seat of Buddhist learning in the world" which has been adopted by some of the archæological officers should also be rejected as wrong.

[4] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 177.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 175.

Sāri. Kālapināka, according to Hsüan Tsang, lay about 4 miles to the south-east of Nālandā, about half way between Nālandā and Indraśilā-guhā. The monk was extremely fond of his mother. In his last days finding that his end was approaching, he came to his mother and died in her lap. The *Thera-gāthā* describes the pathetic story of his death and the heart-rending lamentations of Sāri, the bereft mother of the great *thēra*.

The *Mahāsudassana Jātaka*[1] says that 'when the Tathāgata was at Jētavana, he thought the *thēra* Sāriputta who was born at Nālagrāma[2] has died on the day of the full moon in the month of Kārtika in that very village'. Nālagrāma means the village of *nālas* or lotus-stalks and I think would be similar to Nālandā which according to the derivation which I have just proposed means the giver of *nālas* or lotus-stalks. If my assumption is correct, Nālagrāma would be another designation of Nālandā. In the *Mahāvastu* the birth-place of Śāriputra is called Nālandagrāmaka[3] and this would convincingly show that these two names, Nālagrāma and Nālandagrāma were interchangeable—*grāmaka* being only a derivative of *grāma*. This surmise is supported by the account of Tārānātha given in his history of Buddhism. In it he says:[4] "It was Nālandā which was formerly the birth-place of the venerable Sāriputra and it was also the place where he finally vanished from existence with 80,000 Arhats. In the meanwhile the Brāhmaṇa village became deserted and there remained the only Chaitya of the venerable Śāriputra to which King Aśōka had made large offerings and built a great Buddha temple; when later on the first 500 Mahāyāna *bhikshus* counselled together and came to know that they had delivered the Mahāyāna teaching at the place of Śāriputra they took it to be a sign that the teachings would spread widely; but when they further learnt that the same was also the place of Maudgalyāyana, they took it to be a sign that the teaching would be very powerful; but the teaching did not prosper very well. Both the Brāhmaṇa brothers and the teachers erected 8 Vihāras and placed there the works of the whole Mahāyāna teaching." Thus we see that the first founder of Nālandā Vihāra was Aśōka, the developers of the place of learning were the 500 Āchāryas, Mudgaragomin and his brother, the next enlarger was Rāhulabhadra and the greatest expander was Nāgārjuna.

The account given by Tārānātha would further indicate that Nālandā must have played a prominent part in the propagation of Mahāyāna. This is also proved by the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* which is noticed below. Further it gives the interesting information that the first *vihāra* at Nālandā was established by Aśōka the Great.

*Padmasaṁbhava and Nālandā.*—The district Gazetteer of Patna records a tradition that Padmasaṁbhava, the founder of Lamaism went to Tibet from Nālandā at the invitation of the Tibetan King in 747 A.C. Padmasaṁbhava was the disciple of Śāntirakshita, the Zi-ba-ḫtsho of the Chronicles of Ladākh

[1] *S. B. E.*, xi, p. 238.

[2] Rhys. Davids in his foot note to this passage identified Nālagrāma with Bargāoṅ and would thus support my hypothesis.

[3] Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 172.

[4] *History of Buddhism*, Tārānāth. (Translated from German version of A. Schiefner with emendations.) *I. H. Q.*, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 556 f.

who was an *āchārya*, at Nālandā. According to Dr. Francke's account[1] of the Chronicles it was King Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (cir. 755-97 A.C.) who invited Padmasaṁbhava (Padma-ḫbyun-gnas) from 'O-rgyan' (Udyāna) and not from Nālandā. The temple of 'O-tantrari' is mentioned soon after this statement and 'O-tantrari' is the same as Otantapurī or Odaṇḍapurī near Nālandā. The *Pag. Sam Jon Zang* places the great shrine of Otantapurī in the neighbourhood of Nālandā. Udyāna, the modern Swat, might have been the place where Padmasaṁbhava prosecuted his studies and rose to fame. Like Vīradēva of the Ghōsrāwāñ inscription, he might have gone towards Nālandā which was at the height of its glory in his days. Nothing definite is known about the historicity of this teacher. From what Dr. Francke has stated, it would appear that he was connected with Mandi, the Zahor of the Tibetans which is a small hill State in the Punjab, particularly noted for its *tīrtha* named Rawālsar. The Tibetans believe that the spirit of Padmasaṁbhava still dwells in the tree on the small floating island of the lake at Rawālsar and many pilgrims are seen going there from Tibet to worship it. Whether this teacher originally belonged to Mandi or Swat or Orissa, as is sometimes believed, it seems[2] that the following ditty records an historical fact :—

"The deputy of the conqueror (Buddha), the holy Zi-ba-ḫtsho (Śāntirakshita),
And the superior master of incantations, the ascetic Padma-ḫbyuṅ (Padmasaṁbhava),
Kamalaśila (Kamalaśīla), the crest ornament of the wise,
And Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, of surpassing thoughts,
Through these four, like sunrise in the dark country of Tibet,
The light of the holy religion spread as far as the frontiers,
These holy men of unchanging kindness,
All Tibetans will for ever reverently salute."

And Nālandā, rightly described as the abode of all sacred lore, was the source from which this 'light of the holy religion' went there.

*Tibetan accounts of Nālandā.*—The Tibetan accounts tell us that Nālandā was a university and had a grand library of its own. It was located at Dharmagañja ('Piety Mart') and consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnōdadhi, and Ratnarañjaka. "In Ratnōdadhi, which was nine-storied, there were the sacred scripts called *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,* and Tantric works such as *Samājaguhya*, etc. After the Turushka raiders had made incursions in Nālandā, the temples and *Chaityas* there were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra. Soon after this, Kukuṭasiddha, minister of the king of Magadha, erected a temple at Nālandā, and, while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indigent Tīrthika mendicants appeared. Some naughty young novice-monks in disdain threw washing-water on them. This made them very angry. After propitiating the sun for 12 years, they performed a *yajña*, fire-sacrifice, and threw

[1] *Antiquities of Tibet* by A. H. Francke (Archl. Survey of India, New Imperial Series), Vol. L. Pt. II, pp. 86 and 87.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, Pt. I, pp. 122 f. and Pt. II, p. 87.

living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples, etc. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnōdadhi. It is, however, said that many of the Buddhist scriptures were saved by water which leaked through the sacred volumes of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and Tantra."[1]

This account I think would lead one to surmise that Nālandā had to suffer from fire put by anti-Buddhists and that it was a place of sun worship. That there was a conflagration we also infer from the nature of the remains unearthed from the Site No. I and from the evidence of the stone inscription of Bālāditya which clearly speaks of this '*agnidāha*.'[2] The pond at Baragāoñ, which is sacred to the sun deity is a proof of the locality being known for the worship of the solar deity. Whether the Site No. 1 or the Pathar-ghaṭṭi was the Ratnōdadhi we cannot say. The words *udadhi* and *sāgara* would suggest that the buildings were erected near some large lakes of Nālandā. It would further indicate that Nālandā was also the centre of *Tantric* learning like the adjoining Otantapurī.

*Chinese accounts of Nālandā.*—About the sixth Century after Christ the reputation of Nālandā as an international centre of Buddhist culture had reached China. Wu-ti or Hsias, the first Liang emperor of China, an ardent Buddhist, sent a mission to Nālandā in 539 (A. C.) to collect Mahāyāna texts and to secure the services of a competent scholar to translate them. It was owing to this fame of Nālandā that famous pilgrims like Fa Hian and Hsüan Tsang and I-Tsing came to it and the two latter stayed here and studied Sanskrit and Buddhist literature for a number of years. The vivid account of Nālandā these pilgrims have given are noticed in the sequel. In compliance with the wishes of the Chinese Emperor the King of Magadha placed the services of Paramārtha,[3] the learned monk, at the disposal of the mission and he not only accompanied the mission on its sojourn in India but went to China with it taking the large collection of manuscripts he had translated.

*Nālandā in Jaina Literature.*—References to Nālandā in epigraphical records will be noticed below in detail. Here I would like to give literary references only. Both in the Jaina and the Buddhist literature of old, Nālandā has figured several times. From the accounts found therein it would appear that Nālandā was a prosperous *bāhirikā* or suburb of Rājagṛiha about the 6th century before Christ. Mahāvīrasvāmī the 24th Jina spent not less than fourteen *chāturmāsas* or rainy seasons here and this could have happened only when Nālandā was a very comfortable place where people could conveniently go and attend religious congregations and sermons delivered by the teacher on such occasions.

The following quotations from the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* and other works will give us an idea of the prosperity of Nālandā some centuries before Christ. The extract from the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* is only a part of the chapter which is named after Nālandā itself.[4]

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[1] Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's *A History of Indian Logic*, App. C, pp. 515-16.
[2] *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. IV, p. 106.
[3] V. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd ed.), p. 333.
[4] Book II, Lecture 7th.

*Teṇaṁ kāleṇaṁ teṇaṁ samaēṇaṁ Rāyagihe nāmaṁ nayare hōtthā siddhi-pphīta-samiddhe vaṇṇao jāva paḍirūve tassaṇaṁ Rāyagihassa nayarassa bahiyā uttarapuratthime disībhāyā etthaṇaṁ Nālandā-nāmaṁ bāhiriyā hōtthā aṇēga-bhavanassayasannivitthā jāva paḍirūvā* (*1*).

*Tatthaṇaṁ Nālandāe bāhiriyāe Leve nāmaṁ gāhāvaī hōtthā addhe ditte vitte vitthaṇa-vipula-bhavana-sayaṇ-āsaṇa-jāṇa-vāhaṇāiṇṇe bahudhaṇa-bahu-jāyarūvarajate āoga-paoga-sampautte vittha-ḍiya-paura bhatta-pāṇe bahudāsī-dāsa-go-mahisa-gavelaga-ppabhūe bahu-jaṇassa aparibhueyāvi hotthā.* (2).

*Seṇaṁ Leve nāmaṁ gāhāvaī samano vāsaeyāvi-hotthā abhigaya Jīvājive jāva viharai nig-gaṁthe pāvayaṇe nissaṁkie nikkaṁkhie nivviti-gitthe laddhaṭṭhe gahi-yaṭṭhe putthiyaṭṭhe viṇitthiyaṭṭhe abhigihiyaṭṭhe aṭṭhimiṁjā pem-āṇurāga-ratte ayam-āuso niggaṁthe pāvayaṇe ayaṁ aṭṭhe ayaṁ paramaṭṭhe sese aṇaṭṭhe usiya-phalihe appāvayaduvāre viyattam teurappavese chāudasaṭṭha muddiṭṭha-purāṇa masinīsu paḍipuṇṇaṁ posahaṁ sammaṁ aṇupālemane samane nigganthe tahāviheṇaṁ ēsanijjeṇaṁ asaṇapāṇaṁ khāi-sasāi-menaṁ paḍilābhamane bahuhiṁ sīladva-yaguṇa-viramaṇa-pachchavaravāṇa posahovavāsehiṁ appāṇaṁ bhāve māṇe evaṁ chaṇaṁ viharai* (*3*).

*Tassaṇaṁ Levassa gāhāvaissa Nālandāe bāhiryāe uttarapuratthi me disibhāe etthaṇaṁ Śesad-dviyā nāmaṁ udaga-sālā hotthā aṇega-khaṁbha-saya-sanniviṭṭhā pāsādīyā jāva paḍirūvā tisseṇaṁ Sesa-daviyāe udaga-sālāe uttara-puratthime disibhāe etthaṇaṁ Hatthi-jāme nāmaṁ vāṇasaṁḍe hotthā kiṇahe vaṇṇao vaṇasaṁ-ḍassa* (*4*).

Hermann Jacobi has thus translated it.[1] "At that time, at that period, there was a town of the name Rājagṛiha ; it was rich, happy, thriving, etc. Outside of Rājagṛiha, in a north-eastern direction there was the suburb Nālandā, it contained many hundreds of buildings, etc. (1). In that suburb Nālandā there was a house-holder called Lēpa ; he was prosperous, famous ; rich in high and large houses, beds, seats, vehicles and chariots ; abounding in riches, gold and silver ; possessed of useful and necessary things ; wasting plenty of food and drink ; owning many male and female slaves, cows, buffalos and sheep ; and inferior to nobody (2).

"This householder Lēpa, a follower of the Śramaṇas, comprehended (the doctrine of) living beings and things without life, etc. (3).

"This householder Lēpa possessed in a north-eastern direction from the suburb Nālandā a bathing-hall, called Śēshadravyā ; it contained many hundreds of pillars, was beautiful, etc. In a north-eastern direction from this bathing-hall Śēshadravyā, there was a park called Hastiyāma (Description of the park.[2]) " (4).

The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu[3] similarly speaks of Nālandā as a *bāhirikā* of Rājagṛiha where Mahāvīra spent fourteen chāturmāsas : it says :—

*Teṇaṁ kāleṇaṁ teṇaṁ samaeṇaṁ samaṇe Bhagavaṁ Mahāvīre Aṭṭhiyaggāma-nīsāe paḍhamaṁ aṁtarāvāsaṁ vāsā-vāsaṁ uvāgae, Chaṁpaṁ cha Piṭṭhi-Chaṁpaṁ cha nīsāe tao aṁtarāvāse vāsā-vāsaṁ uvāgae Vesaliṁ nagariṁ Vāṇiyaggāmaṁ cha*

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[1] *S. B. E.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 419-20.

[2] The typical description of important towns is given in the *Aupapattika-Sūtra*.

[3] Hermann Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra*, p. 64, Leipzig, 1879 edition.

*nīsāe duvālasa aṁtarāvāse vāsā-vāsaṁ uvāgae, Rāyagihaṁ nagaraṁ Nālaṁdaṁ cha bāhiriyaṁ nīsāe choddasa aṁtarāvāse vāsā-vāsaṁ uvāgaē, cha Mahiliyāe dō Bhaddiyāe egaṁ Ālabhiyāye egaṁ Paṇiyabhūmīye egaṁ Sāvatthīe egaṁ Pāvāe majjhimāe Hatthipālassa ranno rajjūsabhāe apachchimaṁ antarāvāsaṁ vāsā-vāsaṁ uvāgae.*

The Jain works *Pūrvadēśachaityaparipāṭi* and *Samētaśikhara-tīrthamālā* quoted above would also testify to the former prosperity of Nālandā. The *Samēta-śikhara-tīrthamālā* gives an exaggerated number of the residents of Nālandā in the following stanza :—

*Ghara-vasatāṁ Śreṇikavārai*
*Sāḍhī-kula-kōḍībārai 1*
*Binddu--dehare ekasō-pratimā*
*Navīlahie Bodanī gaṇanā*

According to this authority there were some hundred Jaina shrines at Nālandā but the number of Buddhist images was countless.[1]

If Nālandā was a prosperous *pāḍā* or suburb of Rājagṛiha and had such a large number of houses as stated by these authorities we can well imagine the extent and prosperity of the old Rājagṛiha in earlier days. The distance between Rājagṛiha and Nālandā nowadays is not less than seven miles.

*Nālandā in Buddhist Literature.*—The earliest mention of Nālandā in Buddhist literature I know of, is in the *Brahmajālasutta* and the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta* (*Dīghanikāya*). In the former we find :—

*Atha kho Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṁ yathābhirantaṁ viharitvā āyasmantaṁ Ānandaṁ āmantesi, "Āyām 'Ānanda yena Nālandā ten' upasaṁkamissāmāti."*

*"Evaṁ bhante" ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato pachchassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṅghena saddhiṁ yena Nālandā tad avasari. Tatra sudaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyāṁ viharati Pāvārikambavane.*[2]

In the latter we find :—

*Evaṁ me sutaṁ. Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā antarā cha Rājagahaṁ antarā cha Nālandaṁ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti mahatā bhikkhu-saṁghēna saddhiṁ pañchamattehi bhikkhu-satēhi. Suppiyō pi khō paribbājakō antarā ca Rājagahaṁ antarā ca Nālandaṁ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti saddhiṁ antevāsinā Brahmadattena māṇavena. Tatra sudaṁ Suppiyo paribbājako aneka-pariyāyena Buddhassa avaṇṇaṁ bhāsati Dhammassa avaṇṇam bhāsati Saṁghassa avaṇṇaṁ bhāsati, Suppiyassa pana paribbājakassa antevāsī Brahmadatto māṇavo aneka-pariyāyena Buddhassa vaṇṇaṁ bhāsati Dhammassa vaṇṇam bhāsati Saṁghassa vaṇṇaṁ bhāsati. Iti ha te ubho āchariyantevāsī aññamaññassa uju-vipaccanīkavādā Bhagavantaṁ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddhā honti bhikkhu-saṁghañ ca.*[3]

*Evaṁ me sutaṁ. Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ viharati Pāvarikāmbavane. Atha kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto yena Bhagavā ten,*

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[1] Hermann Jacobi's Introduction to the *Kalpasūtra*, p. 64 (Jinacharitra, para. 122).
[2] *Dighanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 81.
[3] *Dīghanikāya* (P. T. S.), Vol. I, page 1, para. 1.

*upasaṁkami, upasaṁkamitvā Bhagvantaṁ abhivādetvā ekamantaṁ, nisīdi, Ekamantaṁ nisinno kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto Bhagvantaṁ etad avocha :*

" *Ayaṁ bhante Nālandā iddhā c'eva phītā ca bahujanā ākiṇṇa-manussā Bhagavati abhippasannā. Sādhu bhante Bhagavā ekaṁ bhikkhuṁ amādisatu, yo uttari-manussadhammā iddhi-pāṭihāriyaṁ karisatti, Evāyaṁ Nālandā bhiyyosomattāya Bhagavati abhippasīdissatīti....* "

*Nāhaṁ bhante Bhagavantaṁ dhasemi. Api ca evaṁ vadāmi* " *Ayaṁ bhante Nālandā iddhā c'eva phītā ca bahujanā ākiṇṇa-manussā Bhagavati abhippasannā. Sādhu bhantē Bhagavā ekaṁ bhikkhuṁ samādisatu yo uttarimanussa-dhammā iddhi-pāṭihāriyaṁ karissati. Evāyaṁ Nālandā bhiyyosomattāya Bhagavati abhippasīdissatīti.........*

*Tatiyaṁ pi khō Kevaddhō gahapati-putto Bhagavantaṁ etad avocha :*

' *Nāhaṁ bhante Bhagavantaṁ dhaṅsemi. Api ca evaṁ vadāmi :* " *Ayaṁ bhantē Nālandā iddhā ćēva phītā ca bahujanā ākiṇṇa-manussā Bhagavati abhippasannā. Sādhu bhante Bhagavā ekaṁ bhikkhuṁ samādisatu yō uttari-manussa-dhammā iddhi-pāṭihāriyaṁ karissati. Evāyaṁ Nālandā bhiyyōsō-mattāya bhavati abhippasīdissatīti.*[1]

*Tatra pi sudaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṁ viharanto Pāvārikambavane etad ēva bahulaṁ bhikkhūṇaṁ dhammiṁ kathaṁ karoti :..................*

*Atha kho Bhagavā Nālandāyaṁ yathābhirantaṁ viharitvā āyasmantaṁ Ānandaṁ āmantesi : Ayaṁ Ānanda yena Pāṭaligāmo ten* ' *upasaṁkamissāmāti* '.[2]

*Evaṁ me sutaṁ Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṁ viharati Pāvārikambavane. Tena kho pana samayena Nigaṇṭho Nātaputto Nālandāyaṁ paṭivasati mahatiyā nigaṇṭha-parisāya saddhiṁ. Atha kho Dīghatapassī nigaṇṭho Nālandāyaṁ piṇḍāya caritvā pacchābhattaṁ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto yena Pāvārikambavanaṁ yena Bhagavā tēn' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā Bhagavātā saddhiṁ sammodi, sammodanīyaṁ kathaṁ sārāṇīyaṁ vītisāretvā ekamantaṁ aṭṭhāsi.*[3]

*Taṁ kim=maññasi gahapati : ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā c'ēva, phītā ca, bahujanā ākiṇṇa-manussā ti. Evaṁ bhantē, ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā c'ēva phītā ca bahujanā ākiṇṇa-manussā ti. Taṁ kim=maññasi gahapati : idha puriso āgaccheyya ukkhittāsiko, sō ēvaṁ vadeyya : Ahaṁ yāvatikā imissā Nālandāya pāṇā, te ekena khaṇena ekena muhuttena ekamaṁsakhalaṁ ekamaṁsapunjaṁ karissāmīti. Taṁ kim=maññasi gahapati : pahoti nu kho so puriso yāvatikā imissa Nālandāya pāṇā te ekena khaṇena ekena muhuttena ekamaṁsakhalaṁ ēkamaṁsapuñjaṁ kātun' ti. Dasa pi bhantē purisā, vīsatimpi purisā, tiṁsam=pi purisā, chattārīsam=pi purisā, paññāsam=pi purisā, na-ppahonti yāvatikā imissā Nālandāya pāṇā tē ēkēna khaṇena ekena muhuttena ekamaṁsakhalaṁ ēkamaṁsapuñjaṁ, kātuṁ, kiṁ hi sobhati eko chhavo puriso' ti. Taṁ*

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

[2] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 83 f.

[3] *Upāli Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, p.. 371-72.

*kim=maññasi gahapati: idh 'āgacchēyya samano vā brāhmaṇo vā iddhimā cētovasippattō, so evaṁ vadeyya. Ahaṁ imaṁ Nālandaṁ ēkena manopadosena bhasmaṁ karissāmīti. Taṁ kim=maññasi gahapati pahoti nu kho ssamaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā iddhimā chetovasipatto imaṁ Nālandaṁ ekena manopadesena bhasmaṁ kātun 'ti. Dasa pi bhante Nālandā vīsatim=pi Nālandā tīṁsam=pi Nālandā chattārīsam=pi Nālandā paññāsam=pi Nālandā pahoti so samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā iddhimā cetovasippatto ekena manopadosena bhasmaṁ kātuṁ, kiṁ hi sobhati ekā chavā Nālandā 'ti. Gahapati, gahapati, manasi karitvā kho gahapati byākaro hi, na kho sandhīyati purimena vā pacchimaṁ pacchimena vā purimaṁ.*[1]

*Maṁ hi bhante aññatitthiyā sāvakaṁ labhitvā kēvalakappaṁ Nālandaṁ paṭākam parihareyyuyṁ Upāl'aṁhākaṁ gahapati savaka-ttūpa-gatō ti.*

The Pāvārikambavana or the mango grove of Pāvārika, according to these quotations, was one of the favourite resorts of the Buddha. That it was adjacent to Nālandā is clear. But where it actually lay is not known. It is not unlikely that it stood somewhere near Silāo.

Some other references to Nālandā in ancient Buddhist texts known to me are these :—

*So evaṁ pabbajito samaṇo addhāna-magga-paṭipanno addasaṁ Bhagavantaṁ antarā cha Rājagaham antarā cha Nālandaṁ Bahuputte cetiye nisiṇṇam.*[2]

*Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṁ viharati Pāvārikambavane. Atha kho Upāli gahapati yena Bhagavā tenuupasaṅkami.*[3]

*Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṁ viharati Pāvārikambavane. Atha kho Asibandhakaputto gāmaṇi yena Bhagavā ten 'upasaṁkami, upasaṁkamitvā Bhagavantaṁ abhivādetvā ekaṁ antaṁ nisīdi.*[4]

This Sutta continues to say how Asibandhakaputta was sent by Nāṭaputta, the Nigantha, to Buddha to question as to the prosperity of Buddha's visit to Nālandā during a famine.

*Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Kosalesu cārikaṁ caramāṇo mahatā bhikkhu-saṅghena saddhiṁ yena Nālandā tād avasāri. Tatra sudaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṁ viharati Pāvārikambavane.*

*Tena kho pana samayena Nālandā dubbhikkhā hoti dvīhitikā, setaṭṭhikā salākāvuttā.*

*Tena kho pana samayena Nigantho Nāṭaputto Nālandāyaṁ pativasati mahatiya Nigantha-parisaya saddhiṁ.*

*Atha kho Asibandhaputto gāmaṇi niganthasāvako yena Nigantho Nāṭaputto ten 'upasaṁkami, upasaṁkamitvā Niganthaṁ Nāṭaputtaṁ abhivadētvā ekaṁ antaṁ nisīdi.*[5]

*Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṁ viharati Pāvārikambavane. Atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto yena Bhagavā ten 'upasaṁkami.*[6]

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[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 377 f.
[2] *Saṁyutta Nikāya, Kassapa Saṁyutta, 3rd sutta*, Part II, p. 220.
[3] *Ibid.*, Part IV, p. 110.
[4] *Ibid.*, Part IV, pp. 311 f.
[5] *Ibid.*, Part IV, pp. 322 f.
[6] *Ibid.*, Part V, p. 159.

*Brahmajālam āvuso Ānanda kattha bhasitan ti. Antarā ca bhante Rājagaham antarā ca Nālandaṁ rājāgarakē Ambalaṭṭhikikāyaṁ ti.*[1]

Another interesting reference to Nālandā in Buddhist literature is found in a Sinhalese work entitled *Nikāyasaṅgraha*[2] written towards the end of the 14th century after Christ, by a Saṅgharāja (leader of a Saṅgha) named Dharmakīrti. This reference would show that some Buddhist monks after the great schism, which is alluded to even in the Sārnath Pillar Inscription of Aśōka, went to Nālandā after the third Saṅgīti was held under the presidency of the Elder Moggaliputta-Tissa. These monks are said to be the Tīrthakas whom this work characterises as "crafty, dishonest, deceitful, avaricious and artful people who formed themselves into a fraternity of teachers called 'Mahāsāṅghika' and reversed the true doctrine of the Sthaviravāda by interpolating new texts and inventing commentaries agreeable to their purposes. They were found to be corrupt and were consequently excommunicated by the 'great elders' of the Second Convocation". The reference in question, rendered into English, is as follows :—

"Then the Tīrthakas, who had been expelled from the religion receiving no help from it, departed, and burning with rage they assembled at Nālandā near Rajagaha. There they took counsel together, saying : We should make a breach between the doctrine and discipline of Śākya monks, so as to make it difficult for the people to comprehend the religion. But without knowing the niceties of the religion it is not possible to do so. Therefore by some means we must again become monks. They then returned, and not being able to secure admission to the Thēriya Nikāya, went to the members of the seventeen fraternities, the Mahāsaṅghika, etc., which had been rejected by it, and entering the priesthood without letting it be discovered that they were Tīrthakas, and hearing and reading the Three Piṭakas, they reversed and subverted the same. Afterwards they went to the city of Kosambe (that is Kausāmbi), and converted ways and means for keeping doctrine and discipline apart. And after two-hundred-and-fifty-five years from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha they separated into six divisions, and residing in six places formed themselves into the nine fraternities, *Hēmavata, Rājgiri, Sidhārtha, Pūrvaśaili, Aparaśaili, Vajirī, Vaitulya, Andhaka*, and *Anya-Mahāsaṅghika*."

The Pāli chronicles have reference to this episode ; but the author of the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* seems to have utilised the sources which are now lost for he gives no information not found in the *Dīpavaṁsa, Mahāvaṁsa* or the *Samantapāsādika*. The seeds of dissention sown during these schisms developed into various Buddhist sects and Nālandā which owing to the repeated stay of the Buddha was considered to be a hallowed locality after the advent of these monks grew into a centre of Sarvāstivādins or of the Mahāyānists. The adjoining Uddaṇḍapurī (the modern Bihār Sharif) on the other hand became, gradually, the chief place for Vajrayāna and its degenerated form, the Sahajayāna.[3]

[1] *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Chullavagga, XI, p. 287.

[2] *Nikāya-Saṅgraha* trans. C. M. Fernando, Colombo, 1908, p. 9.

[3] See Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana, *Buddha Charyā*, Kasi, Introduction, page marked 11.

*References in Brahmanical literature.*—Nālandā does not figure in Brahmanical literature. The only reference to a work which may be termed Brahmanical though it is non-sectarian, is in the *Arthaśāstra*[1] of Kauṭilya. It refers to the *Sūyaṅgāṅgasūtra* where Nālandā is mentioned as a *bāhiriā* (*bāhirikā*) :—

*Rāagihē ṇāmaṁ ṇaarē......Nālaṁdā ṇāmaṁ vāhiriā hottō aṇega-bhavaṇa-saa-saṇṇividdhā.*

"*Rāja-gṛihē nāma nagarē......Nālandā nāma bāhirikā āsīt anēka-bhavana-śata-sannivishṭā*" *iti paramaiśvarya-samṛiddha-bāhirika-jāti-varṇanaṁ Sūyaṅgāṅgasūtrē Nālandādhyayanē dṛiśyatē.*

The rendering of *bāhirikā* given in the footnote to this quotation as an editorial is evidently incorrect, for, the work does not mean a *jāti* but a suburb as I have stated above.

Here too Nālandā is spoken of as a prosperous suburb of Rājagṛiha, containing hundreds of mansions. Nālandā seems to have had no special connection with Brahmanism and that is the chief reason why it does not find any mention in Brahmanical literature. Rājagṛiha with which it was connected from a remote period is a place of epic fame no doubt. It is connected with Jarāsandha, the mighty foe of Kṛishṇa whom Bhīmasēna vanquished in a duel. '*Jarāsandha kā Akhāṛā*' is still pointed out to the visitors to Rājagṛiha by the ingenious Paṇḍās of the *tīrtha* there. It was in the rugged range of the hills of Rājagṛiha that once flourished the impregnable Girivraja or Kuśāgārapura, the metropolis of Magadha, and it was in this very Rājagṛiha that the duel of Jarāsandha and Bhīmasēna so vividly described in the *Mahābhārata* is said to have taken place. Nālandā with her gorgeous and stately *prāsādas* and *vihāras* stood near by but finds no mention in the epic. Even the later Brahmanical works make no mention of it.

The way in which all these texts speak of it would show that Nālandā was considered to be a distinct locality and not a part of Rājagṛiha. Nālandā seems to have its own administration from a remote antiquity. That it had its own Government during the early mediæval period will be shown by the seals described in detail below.

*Description of Nālandā given by Hsüan Tsang and I-Tsing.*—As stated by Hsüan Tsang who was in India between 629-645 A.D. the site of Nālandā was purchased by 500 merchants for 10 *koṭis* of gold pieces and presented to the Buddha who preached the 'Law' here at *Pāvārikāmbavana* for three months. That such a large sum was spent in purchasing the site would go to show its importance from the very commencement. The texts alluded to above would testify to its continuous prosperity which reached the zenith in the days of Hsüan Tsang's visit. To give an idea of its splendour the following description is taken from his itinerary for it is the testimony of an eye-witness.

"An old king of this country called Śakrāditya built this Saṁghārāma not long after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha.

[1] Oriental Library Publication, Sanskrit Series, No. 54 of Mysore, 1919 edition, page 57, note 1.

"His son, Budhagupta-rāja, who succeeded him built another Saṁghārāma to the south of it. Tathāgata-gupta-rāja built east from this, another Saṁghārāma. Bālāditya succeeded to the empire and built a Saṁghārāma on the north-east side.

"The king's son called Vajra succeeded to the throne and built another Saṁghārāma to the west of the convent.

"After this a king of Central India built to the north of this a great Saṁghārāma. Moreover he built to the north of these edifices a high wall with one gate and placed a figure of Buddha in the hall of the monarch who first began the Saṁghārāma.

"Thus six kings in connected succession added to these structures.

"The whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle of the Saṁghārāma. The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets resembling pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.

"From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms, and above the soaring eaves the conjunction of the sun and the moon may be observed.

"And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue[1] lotus, intermingled with the Kanaka flowers, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Āmra groves spread over all their shade.

"All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene.

"The Saṁghārāmas of India are counted by myriads but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests belonging to the convent, or strangers residing therein always reach to the number of 10,000 who all study the Great Vehicle as well as the works of all the eighteen rival sects of Buddhism and even ordinary works, such as the *Vedas* and other books, and the works on Magic or the *Atharva-veda*, besides these they thoroughly investigate the "miscellaneous" works. There are 1,000 men who can explain thirty collections, and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who can explain fifty collections. Śīlabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number. His eminent virtue and advanced age have caused him to be regarded as the chief member of the community. Within the temple they arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching, and the students attend these discourses without fail, even for a minute.

"The priests dwelling there, are, as a body, naturally dignified and grave, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules.

[1] Now blue lotus is not found in the lakes or ponds lying round Nālandā.

"The king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenue of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages day by day contribute several hundred *piculs*[1] of ordinary rice and several hundred *cotties*[2] in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students here, being so abundantly supplied, do not require to ask for the four requisites. This is the source of the perfection of their studies to which they have arrived.

"The priests, to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe, and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young naturally help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripiṭaka* are little esteemed and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams of their wisdom spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name of Nālandā students, and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new books before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion. Those who fail compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten. The other two or three of moderate talent, when they come to discuss in turn in the assembly, are sure to be humbled, and to forfeit their renown. But with respect to those of conspicuous talent of solid learning, great ability, illustrious virtue, distinguished men, these connect their high name with the succession of celebrities belonging to the college, such as Dharmapāla and Chandrapāla who excited by their bequeathed teaching the thoughtless and the wordly; Guṇamati and Sthiramati the streams of whose superior teaching spread abroad even now; Prabhāmitra with his clear discourses, Jinamitra with his exalted eloquence; the sayings and doings of Jñānachandra reflect his brilliant activity; Śīghrabuddha and Śīlabhadra and other eminent men whose names are lost. These illustrious personages known to all, excelled in their attainments all their distinguished predecessors and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed some tens of treatises and commentaries which were widely diffused and which for their perspicuity are passed down to the present time."

Soon after the departure of Hsüan Tsang, I-Tsing another famous Buddhist pilgrim from China visited India and stayed at Nālandā for a considerable time.

[1] Picul=133 lbs.
[2] Cotty=150 lbs.

From his records we find that in his days there were eight halls and 300 apartments in the monastery at Nālandā and the number of residents exceeded three thousand. The monastery was in possession of more than 200 villages which were bestowed on it by kings of many generations.

The Dharmapāla mentioned by Hsüan-Tsang, according to tradition,[1] went to Suvarṇadvīpa, *i.e.*, Java-Sumatra, after he had been a teacher in Nālandā.

I-Tsing found that the *vinaya* was strictly carried out at Nālandā and that was the reason why Buddhism continued to flourish there. The hours of work and of worship at Nālandā were regulated by the use of clepsydræ. The pupil, I-Tsing says, after attending to the service of his teacher, reads a portion of scripture and reflects on what he has learnt. He acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute.

The method of instruction followed at Nālandā as observed by this Chinese scholar during his long stay is not void of interest and may be mentioned here in detail. This method was adopted not only at Nālandā but at other Buddhist *vihāras* also. As we observe even now grammatical works especially the Sūtras of Pāṇini *i.e.*, the *Ashṭādhyāyī* had to be learnt by heart, for grammar was, and I believe rightly, considered to be the foundation of other studies. That Sanskrit learning is deep in the case of Indian *paṇḍits* is due to this thorough grounding in *Vyākaraṇa*. I-Tsing says, Grammatical science is called in Sanskrit *Śabdavidyā*, one of the five *Vidyās*—to wit: (1) *Śabdavidyā* (grammar & lexicography); (2) *Śilpasthāna-vidyā* (arts); (3) *Chikitsā-vidyā* (medicine); (4) *Hētu-vidyā* (logic); and (5) *Adhyātma--vidyā* (science of the Universal soul or philosophy). *Śabdavidyā* is of five kinds. The first is the *Siddha* which children learn when they are about six years old and finish it in six months. This I think is *Rūpāvali* which gives paradigms, declensions, etc. The second is *Sūtra* which is the foundation of all grammatical science. It contains a thousand *ślōkas* and is the work of Pāṇini. Children begin to learn the *Sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months' time. This remark of the Chinese scholar is a good testimony of the marvellous memory of the Indian boys of his time for I doubt if we have such prodigies in our schools or *tolls* nowadays who can master *Ashṭādhyāyī* in eight months. The third is 'the book on *Dhātu*' *i.e.*, *Dhātupāṭha*. The fourth he says, is 'the book on the three *Khilas* (or "pieces of waste land") *viz.*, *Ashṭadhātu*, *Mauda* and *Uṇādi*'. (What is really meant by the first two is not quite clear. *Uṇādi* we all know well.) Boys begin to learn the book on the three *Khilas* when they are ten years old, and understand them thoroughly after three years' diligent study. The fifth is '*Vṛitta-sūtra*'. This is a commentary on the *Sūtra*. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand after five years.

The study of *Vyākaraṇa* was preliminary to the study of higher subjects and a student had to devote some fourteen years of his early life to it beginning from his boyhood or when he was a stripling of six years. Further we are told, after having studied this commentary, students begin to learn composition in

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[1] A. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 130.

prose and verse and devote themselves to logic (*hētuvidyā*) and metaphysics (*abhidharma-kōśa*). In learning the *Nyāyadvāra-tarka-śāstra* (introduction to logic) they rightly draw inferences (*anumāna*); and by studying the *Jātaka-mālā* (stories of the Buddha in previous births) their power of comprehension increases. Thus instructed by their teachers, and instructing others, they pass two or three years generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhi (the modern Wala) in Western India. These two places are like Chinma, Shiheh'u, Lungmen, and Ch'ueli in China, and there eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their activities; there they present their schemes and show their (political) talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government. When they are present in the House of Debate, they raise their seat and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness. When they are refuting heretical doctrines all their opponents become tongue-tied and acknowledge themselves undone. There the sound of their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate, and their renown flows as it were, over the four borders. They receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank. Their famous names are, as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like.[1]

Some preliminary study was gone through before one was allowed to enter Nālandā as a student. This the pilgrim makes clear while giving his account of Nālandā. He also tells us that while composition of poems was one of the occupations of the residents of the monasteries, great attention was given at Nālandā to the practice of singing or chanting. I-Tsing must have been greatly impressed by it for he became anxious to see it introduced in his own country.

What he says in general regarding monasteries in India about physical exercise must have held good for Nālandā. He says 'In India both priests and laymen are generally in the habit of taking walks, going backwards and forwards along a path, at suitable hours and at their pleasure; they avoid noisy places. Firstly it cures disease, and secondly it helps to digest food. The walking hours are in the forenoon and late in the afternoon. They either go away (for a walk) from their monasteries, or stroll quietly along the corridors. If any one adopts this habit of walking he will keep his body well, and thereby improve his religious merit'. This reminds us of the adage 'healthy mind in a healthy body' which people of ancient India must have kept in view for the daily pursuits of their life. The high opinion which I-Tsing had of Nālandā will be inferred from his remark 'I have always been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them (*i.e.*, the distinguished teachers at Nālandā) personally, which I should otherwise never have possessed, and that I could refresh my memory of past study by comparing old notes with new ones.'[2]

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[1] See *I-Tsing* (ed. Takakusu), pp. 169ff.

[2] *I-Tsing* pp. 184, 185—quoted by Keay in his *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 102 f.

These descriptions by eye-witnesses not only give us a clear picture of the old Nālandā but tell us what sort of universities India had in her palmy days. The *gurus* and the *śishyas* in those times were properly looked after by the State. The Vidyāsthāna or the university of Nālandā had its own administration which governed some 200 villages free from taxation, and met the requirements of the teachers and the taught liberally. What wonder then that the *āchāryas* like Śāntirakshita were born in India whose fame spread far and wide making foreign kings invite them for the diffusion of the light of the holy religion in distant lands beyond the borders of this vast country!

*Nālandā in different epochs.*—That Nālandā was a prosperous locality in the time of Mahāvīra, the 24th Jina and of Gautama Buddha is shown by the literary evidence given above. As to its being a place of some importance about the time of Aśōka, the great Mauryan Emperor, the testimony of the Simhalese work *Nikāya-Saṁgraha* of Dharmakīrti is quite significant. We hear of Nālandā in the Śuṅga period of Indian history also, for according to Tārānātha, a lady came from Nālandā to meet her kinsman Pushyamitra the well-known potentate of the Śuṅga dynasty. The copper-plate inscription purporting to belong to the time of Samudragupta which was issued from Nṛipura (modern Narpur near Nālandā) and dug out from the dèbris of Monastery I, the clay seals of Narasiṁhagupta and other Gupta rulers found from the site are the relics of Nālandā in the Gupta epoch. Thereafter comes the evidence of the stone inscription of the time of Yaśōvarmadēva and then of the Maukhari seals and the seals of Harshavardhana, of Bhāskaravarmā, the Prāgjyotisha ruler, as well as of several other Indian Kings. A number of monastic seals excavated at the site which on palæographic grounds are ascribable to the period when Hsüan Tsang came to India afford a similar testimony. The charters of Dharmapāladēva and of Dēvapāladēva and the Ghosrāwāñ *praśasti* of the latter are clear evidences of the prosperity of Nālandā during the Pāla epoch. The Pāla rulers were staunch Buddhists and must have patronised Nālandā very liberally. The period extending from about the 6th to about the 9th century seems to have been the most flourishing period of Nālandā. Then come the records of the reign of Mahēndrapāla, the Pratihāra King of Kanauj, which were also recovered from the site. They would further testify to the continued popularity of Nālandā. But it is curious that as a chief centre of learning Nālandā figures only after the 4th century of the Christian era. Fa Hian visited all the Buddhist centres of India between the years 405-411 after Christ and makes no specific mention of Nālandā, though, as remarked above, his Nāla-grāma does not appear to be different from it. The time of Harsha when it could send one thousand monks to receive the Emperor at Kanauj seems to have been the palmiest day of Nālandā.[1] Its glory must have continued to remain increasing and as a seat of Buddhist lore and of general Sanskritic culture it grew into a place of international reputation during the time of Dēvapāladēva when it attracted the attention of rulers of the far off Java and Sumatra. Even with the political decadence of Magadha it continued to enjoy a reputation as a centre

[1] Smith, *Early History of India* (4th ed.), p. 362.

of Buddhist culture and retained it under the liberal patronage of the Pāla Kings right up to the Mohammadan conquest. It goes without saying that for the final destruction of the monastic establishments of Nālandā and indeed of Buddhism itself as a living force in Magadha, its ancient original home, the destructive hand of the ruthless Musalmān adventurer Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khilji was responsible.[1] His plunder and rapine was so thorough in Nālandā and his slaughter of the resident monks so complete that when it was sought to find some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in the libraries of Nālandā, not one living man or woman could be found who was able to read them and they were reduced to ashes. The lust of plunder could not cause a greater harm to the sacred cause of learning than such an act of arson.

When the caves and temples of Rājagṛiha were abandoned the monastery of Nālandā arose in all its splendour on the banks of the lakes near Baḍgāōñ. Successive rulers vied in embellishing it by erecting lofty *stūpas* and other edifices so highly praised in the stanzas found in a *praśasti* from Nālandā :—

*Y=āsāv=ūrjita-vairi-bhū-pravigalad-dān-āmbu-pān-ōllasan-*
*Mādyad-bhṛiṅga-kar-īndra-kumbha-dalana-prāpta-śriyām=bhūbhujām* |
*Nālandā hasat=īva sarva-nagarīḥ śubhr-ābhra-gaura-sphurach-*
*Chaity-āṁśu-prakarīs=sad-āgama-kalā-vikhyāta-vidvaj-janā* ||
*Yasyām=ambudhar-āvalēhi-śikhara-śrēṇī-vihār-āvalī*
*Māl-ēv-ōrdhva-virājinī virachitā dhātrā manōjñā bhuvaḥ* |
*Nānā-ratna-mayūkha-jāla-khachita-prāsāda-dēv-ālayā*
*Sad-vidyādhara-saṅgha-ramya-vasatir=dhattē Sumērōḥ śriyam* ||

The University of Nālandā was, as it were, a circle from which Buddhist philosophy and teaching diffused itself over Southern and Eastern Asia. It was here that Āryadēva of Ceylon attached himself to the person of the great teacher Nāgārjuna and adopted his religious opinions, and it was here that Hsüan Tsang spent a great portion of his pilgrimage in search of religious instructions and it was from this very Nālandā that Śāntirakshita and Padmasambhava went to Tibet to propagate Buddhism and it was to this Nālandā that Bālaputradēva, the Śailēndra king of the Suvarṇadvīpa, sent his ambassador to have a *vihāra* established with a property endowment for the accomplishments of various objects.

## Remains of Nālandā.

*Structural Remains.*—The ancient remains of Nālandā lie strewn over a very extensive area. The site which is being explored by the Archæological Department roughly measures 1,600 by 400 feet. Nālandā was a suburb of Rājagṛiha in ancient days. So the remains of the old Nālandā should be expected between Rājgīr and Baḍgāōñ. It is but natural that the older remains of Nālandā have been unearthed from site I and that site No. 9 should yield only later antiquities

[1] *Cf.* F. E. Keay, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 105. "The latest limit of the existence of Nālanda (correct form is Nālandā) as a university centre which is known with certainty is 750 A.D. when a certain Kamalaśīla was teaching the *Tāntric* philosophy there. But it probably existed until about 850 A.D. for it is known that there was for some time intercourse between Nālanda (Nālandā) and the later university of Vikramaśilā which was not founded till about 800 A.D.".

such as belong to the later Pāla period. Which part of the area under exploration contains the remains of the six monasteries or *saṅghārāmas* mentioned by Hsüan Tsang has not yet been determined. Site I has yielded the earliest remains found so far and it is not unlikely that the remains of some principal *saṅghārāma* seen by this famous pilgrim from China lay buried in it. The testimony of the Dēvapāladēva's copper plate would indicate that the *vihāra* built at the instance of the Śailēndra king of Suvarṇadvīpa stood here. Several strata found on this site are indicative of successive desertions and re-occupations. Not less than eight levels of occupation have been exposed here. So far the remains of twelve monasteries, the terraced basement of what appears to have been a temple and a number of *stūpas* or '*chaityas*' have been excavated. These have been described in detail in the Annual Reports. To give a general idea of these monastic structures, a brief description of the monastery called A and its adjuncts A and B and of the basement of the temple standing on site 2 might be given here, together with illustrations. The area under exploration contains chiefly Buddhist antiquities though it has yielded a number of Brahmanical remains as well; like the images of Vishṇu, Gaṇēśa and the emblems of Śiva. These Brahmanical sculptures are, evidently, late and belong to the time when Mahāyānism was gradually fused into Brahmanism. The structural remains would show that the *vihāras* of Nālandā were 'of a common type and on plan formed a rectangle bounded by an outer range of cells with an open verandah running round their inner face and enclosing a spacious quadrangular court, usually containing a well. Sometimes the verandah was colonnaded and sometimes it was like an open terrace. The outer walls were plain, with the exception of a simple plinth-moulding or string-course or raised-band running round the building and dividing the facade.' Whether they had any windows or not we cannot say for certain. The cells which were meant for *samādhi* or meditation only were, probably, without such windows, for, they had to be kept entirely free from the hubbub of the world. Others which were meant for residential purposes must have got ventilators of some sort. Chambers with well paved, broad and long seats or beds, which we now see must have been furnished with some windows or ventilators. In the cells meant only for meditation even the door which usually opened on to the inner verandah had to be shut for having *chitta-vṛtti-nirōdha* or complete concentration of mind. The cells which have been opened, for example, at Kasiā—the place where the Buddha attained *Mahāparinirvāṇa* are very deep and the walls are sufficiently high, no doubt. They do not show any window and the inference is that the meditators were let into the cell from above and allowed to remain there as long as they had to. Such is the practice in Tibet even in these days. These cubicles excavated at Nālandā usually have in the thickness of their walls small corbelled niches, obviously meant to enshrine an image, the chief, or perhaps, the only companion of a devotee at the time of meditation. The residential cells are provided with recesses generally of concrete and must have served as couches or beds. Stone beds '*vēdīs*' evidently designed for lying on which we see in the ancient caves found in the Tinnevelly district of the Madras Presidency, for instance, bear labels giving the names of the

individuals for whom they were meant. Some of these labels which are written in the Mauryan *Brāhmī lipi* call these beds *atiṭṭānam* (Sanskrit *adhishṭhānam*) meaning abode. A few of these beds are raised on one side in the form of pillows and therefore must have served the purpose of beds.

The quadrangles had a projecting porch on one side which gave the entrance to the monastery. The several *vihāras* opened at Nālandā on the eastern side are mostly orientated west. Directly opposite to the entrance was the shrine wherein the principal image of Tathāgata was enthroned as we see in Monastery No. I where the Chapel still preserves the remains of a colossal figure of the Buddha seated in the *padmāsana.* The *stūpas* or *chaityas* of Nālandā are of the usual type and of the mediaeval period. They are all ruinous, but what some of them must have been originally can be inferred from the accompanying photo which represents a complete miniature *stūpa* of that age (Pl. I, *b*). According to Hsüan Tsang there stood a *stūpa* at Nālandā in which the cuttings of the nails and hair of the Buddha were deposited. That monument has still to be located and I cannot say for certain if the large *stūpa* standing on the west of this site could have been such a monument. Its decorations and the structure still standing to the east of it are indicative of its importance no doubt.

*Monastery No. I.*—The large monastery which is called Monastery I stands on the southernmost portion of the site under excavation. It is rectangular in shape and measures 205 by 168 feet. The walls are 6′ 6″ thick, except on the west where their width is about 7′ 6″. The large thickness would indicate that the building was a strong one and had several storeys. It was built of reddish bricks of superior texture and rubbed so smooth that their joints were hardly noticeable. The patches seen here and there would indicate that they were covered with plaster. At present the external walls run to a height of about 25 feet in some cases. Rows of chambers about 10 feet square are to be seen along the interior wall. The entrance was at the west and lay in the portico which is 50′×24′ and must have rested on pillars whose bases are still lying *in situ.* On the two sides of this porch there are large niches containing stucco figures whose colour was quite fresh when I opened them. One of these figures is of Tārā. Is it the one Hsüan Tsang described so vividly? It was in this portico that I discovered the large copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva. The dèbris here was evidently burnt in a general conflagration when the monastery was subjected to some catastrophe and the inmates had to run away leaving their gods behind in terror. The adjoining monastery whose remains were also opened by me contained charred door jambs and sills which are clear indications of this sort of catastrophe. On the dèbris of the structures which were thus destroyed, new buildings were erected. Owing to the accumulation of the earth the plinth became raised and steps were needed to get in. Two main flights of steps are still to be seen, the one leading from the entrance up to the top storey of the monastery and the other down to the courtyard where the well was.

The two structural 'caves' of brick with corbelled entrances, 3′ 10″ wide which we see in this monastery possesses considerable architectural interest. They resemble the rock cut caves at Barābar and consist of two identical chambers

measuring about 15′ 1″ by 11′ 8″ internally. They are built at the north side of the courtyard. Both of them are vaulted, the vaults being about 9′ 6″ high. That they are pre-Muhammadan is unquestionable. They furnish us with early examples of vaulted roofs or curved ceilings which were constructed prior to the advent of Islām in India. It is in this fact that their chief interest lies. At a level of some 22 feet below the uppermost parapet of the court of the monastery the remains of a '*chaubutrā*' inset with 'panels in low relief of bird-bodied men worshipping a lotus plant' were found. The style of the decorations of this structure, belongs to about the sixth century after Christ. The *chaubutrā* is therefore the earliest structural relic yet found at the site.

To the south-west corner of this monastery I opened up another *vihāra* now called IA. The entrance to this structure was from the north through a pillared portico. The bases of the columns of the portico are still preserved. This monastery is rectangular in shape and has seven chambers on each side with possibly a shrine chamber in the south. It had a pillared verandah, the quadrangle being paved with bricks. In the centre of the courtyard there are two parallel rows of what appear to be hearths, seven in number and connected by a common corbelled duct, about 2 feet in height. The same feature is to be found in the eastern verandah also. It is not unlikely that here there was a medical seminary or *bhishak-śālā* where *rasas* of sorts were manufactured and the medical students were given practical lessons in pharmacy, unless of course, they were meant to be culinary hearths. In the remains of the verandah and the cells on the northern side and some rooms in the north-east corner I made a large haul of bronze or copper and stone images of the Buddhist divinities, Tārā, Padmapāṇi, Maitrēya and others. Some of these statues possess great artistic skill.

The flight of steps between two of the rooms on the north side possibly gave access to the roof of the verandah or the upper storey of the main monastery. On the south-west corner of this structure there is a long *pacca* drain showing vaults at different places. We find it in the area lying to the south of the large *stūpa* on the site No. 3 and possibly it was meant to drain off the water into the pond or lake on the south side. Its existence would not necessarily indicate that the monastic building in which it is found was deserted before the large *stūpa* was built.

These I believe are the earliest monastic structures yet found on the site under excavation. The monastery No. 1 seems to have been the most prominent one during the early Pāla period for it was here that several antiquities of that age were recovered along with the earlier remains like the clay seals, the stone inscription of Yaśōvarmadēva and the copper-plate purporting to belong to Samudragupta, the great Gupta Emperor. It may incidentally be remarked here that while carrying explorations at the outer side of the southern wall of the main monastery, I found several outer cells with numerous earthen pots. The dèbris here was very stinking and I am led to infer that these cells were used as latrines by the monks residing in the monastery.

After making this short survey of the two monasteries I should like to describe the remains of a ruined stone temple which stood on the site called Patharghaṭṭī *i.e.*, site No. 2 and must have been one of the most magnificient buildings of Nālandā of the mediaeval period. It is not improbable that the remains found on this site are connected with the temple which Bālāditya had built. That he built one at Nālandā is proved not only by the testimony of Hsüan Tsang but by the evidence of the stone inscription of Yaśōvarmadēva which clearly says :—

"Here at Nālandā Bālāditya, the great King of irresistible valour, after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth erected as if with a view to see the Kailāsa mountain surpassed, a great and extraordinary temple (*prāsāda*) of the illustrious son of Śuddhōdana (*i.e.*, the Buddha)."

The remains chiefly consist of the basement of a structure which was presumably a temple and must have been square in plan. The external dimensions of the building are 118′×102′. The nature of the internal plan has not yet been determined. The place where the sanctum probably stood is covered with dèbris of huge stones. The fragments of the *āmalaka* lying in the dèbris are clear indications of the building having been a temple. The outside stone plinth and the side projections of the structure have been fully exposed. I traced the plinth to its very foundation at three different places. The trial trench sunk at the west side led me to a very nicely built high brick wall which runs north to south and has by subsequent explorations been proved to be the eastern outer wall of a distinct monastery now marked No. 7. A regular drain has been cut in this wall. Evidently this monastery came into existence after the stone-faced terrace was built. The terraced structure must have fallen down and abandoned before the drain could be allowed to fall into the compound of a temple which stood on a lower level. The interior of the terrace was filled with undressed blocks of stones as are used for infilling. The large dressed stones with grooves meant for clamps might have belonged to some part of the edifice which stood on this basement. Possibly all the stones including the carved panels formed part of another building originally and were brought down to this site for being used in constructing a new sanctuary. I am led to this assumption by the patches of the well-rubbed bricks, seen here and there round the basement between the carved stone-panels and by the uncarved stone-panels. They were put in to fill up the gaps in the basement of the new structure. The earlier building to which the carved stone panels belonged fell down and its remains did not supply the whole material needed for the proposed structure. Perhaps the new structure was to be made of bricks chiefly and that was the reason why in the gaps we see pilasters and mouldings of bricks, though the upper portion was of stones as the large *āmalaka* fragments would show. The extant stone panels and mouldings are not even in line. The panels, as their very nature would indicate, must have belonged to some magnificient structure. The script of the inscriptions found on some of the stones on the northern side of the eastern face, cannot be later than the 6th or 7th century A.D. and would support the hypothesis made above regarding the original temple to which these stones might have belonged.

The unfinished stone panels would lead us to surmise that even the terrace was not completed. The bricks used here are late mediaeval like those of the monastic building to the west.

The terrace has a low flight of steps on the east and is decorated by a dado running round the base. The dado which forms its chief feature comprises some 200 sculptured panels of which 20 appear on the proper right side of the flight of steps, 58 on the south, 57 on the west, 48 on the north and 17 on the proper left side of the entrance. The pilasters separating them are ornamented with pot-and-foliage design. The surmounting arches are trefoil in shape though some of them have a pointed form. A double cornice surmounts the dado though in certain places the traces of a third cornice are still visible and attract the eye of a visitor by the human head carved in an arch. The third cornice was probably left unfinished. The carved panels of the terrace display a very pleasing variety of figures. They are separated from one another by means of the pilasters which are decorated with the pot-and-foliage design and are surmounted by arches carved in trefoil shape, some being pointed like a *chaitya* window and others having a lintel like top. Some of them are unfinished while a few are time worn or weathered. On the row of these panels we find a double cornice of which the lower moulding is decorated with the replicas of the arched fronts of *chaityas* and well-carved figures of geese alternating them; and the upper one, with larger replicas of the same *chaitya* motif with various birds shown in different poses in the intervals between them. In a few places traces of a third cornice are also visible. This cornice must have been more prominent than the other two and was perhaps more ornamental as could be inferred from the human head in an arch we see on the south east corner of the dado. Apparently, this third cornice could not be completed in stone because all the members could not be found for being set in. At the facade on the west side, even the stone panels as well as the pilasters are wanting and had to be replaced by brick work. Whatever remains of the dado in the former structure could be had were brought in and used for constructing the basement and the gaps were filled by bricks, moulded or rubbed according to necessity. The stone panels show a very pleasing variety of sculpture carved on them. A number of figures we see on them are decidedly Brahmanical, for example, the representations of Śiva and Pārvatī, Gajalakshmī, Agni and Kubēra (Pl. I, *c-d*). The *makaras*, the scroll-foliage, various geometrical designs, the *mithunas*, the elaboratedly dressed women seated in pairs, the *gandharvas* playing on the harp or *vīṇā*, such as we see on the coins of Samudragupta of the lyrist type, are among the attractive sculptures in this dado. The snake charmer, the representation of the well known '*kachchhapa-jātaka*[1]' showing the tortoise holding in his mouth the stick carried by swans in their beaks and the village boys shouting—

*Taṁ tathā haṁsehi nīyamānaṁ gāmadārakā disvā " dve haṁsā kachchhapaṁ daṇḍakena haraṁtīti " āhaṁsu.*[2]

[1] *Jātakamālā* 215th *Jātaka*; *The Jātaka*, ed. V. Fausboll, Vol. II, p. 175. *Pañchatantram*, I, see 13th story.
[2] Fausboll—*loc. cit.* p. 176.

*Mithunas* in amorous postures sculptured in accordance with the canonical injunction like *Mithunaiś-cha vibhūshayēt*,[1] and scenes in archery are not less attractive. Several panels depict human couples in various poses. One gives a female figure in the attitude of threatening her child. Many of these panels show mere decorative devices. One gives a design based upon the hexagon and would show that it is wrong to believe that such designs are exclusively of Molsem or Saracenic origin. In the same way it is incorrect to hold that pointed arch in India owed its origin to a similar inspiration. Both of them are to be met with at Nālandā in buildings which are certainly anterior to the advent of Islam in India. The pair of human headed birds with an elaborate and flowery tail which we see on the south-east corner of the plinth, the heraldic pheasant with a *vajra* in his beak or the heraldic mark are some of the other noteworthy panels. But by far the most interesting examples of realistic art we find in these decorations are the panels which represent folding gates with one half shown as closed and the other represented as open by means of a simple device of not sculpturing it at all, but letting one half of the figure within appear to view. This device would show that the architect could understand perspective and other principles of architecture and that he was a great adept in delineation and in producing the decisive effect in his sculpture. Whether the structure to which these panels originally belonged was a Brahmanical or Buddhistic sanctuary it is difficult to say with certainty. The panels appear to be Brahmanical. Among the sculptures recovered from the site there is one (1′ 8″ high) which represents Buddha seated under a trefoil canopy in the *dharmachakra* pose. But it is late mediaeval. The statuette of standing Vishṇu (7″ high) holding *śaṅkha, chakra, gadā* and *padma* in his hands was also recovered here and is similarly late in origin. But apart from a very few Brahmanical remains and some clay seals which must have come from outside no relic of Brahmanism has been found on the site which must have been exclusively Buddhist. The stray relics of other sects are in all probability extraneous.

## Clay seals.

*Religious or Monastic Seals.*—Nālandā has now given us thousands of seals and sealings in our excavations during the last 20 or more years. The majority of these sealings show the *Dharmachakra* with a gazelle at the sides and the name of the 'congregation' or '*saṅgha*' of the revered monks (*bhikshus*) of the *Mahāvihāra* of Nālandā. Only two *dies* have so far been recovered from the extensive site of Nālandā. The rest are all impressions—the positive ones. A number of them give the Buddhist creed formula in Sanskrit, written in early mediaeval Nāgarī characters, sometimes most calligraphically, so much so that we cannot help admiring the engraver for his mastery on the *chisel* with which he wrote, flawlessly bringing out the forms of letters as beautifully as a painter or calligraphist would write on paper. A large number of the impressions

[1] See *The Mithuna in Indian art* in the *Rūpam* April—July 1925 pp. 54ff. and *ibid.* January 1926 and *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. 104, V. 30 (Ānandāśrama Sansk. Series).

found on different plaques gives only some Buddhist text which is so minutely written that it defies decipherment (Pl. I, *e*). These plaques have got curious shapes ; some are like leaves with long stems as in the specimen in Pl. II, *a*. Can they be some 'Vajrayāna' symbols like the '*Maṇi-padmē*'? Many of these plaques bear figures of the Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara or Padmapāṇi, the All-Compassionate, Maitrēya the next Buddha and Tārā, the Saviouress. These are all made of baked red clay and were evidently meant for being given as '*prasāda*' to the pious pilgrims who would gladly take them as mementos. Some bear the representation of one or more *stūpas* with or without the creed formula. These have no grooves at the back side for they were not meant for being tied to a letter or any other object. The Nālandā seals are usually marked with grooves in the backside. These grooves are thin and their width is commensurate with a small *tāḍi* leaf. This fact leads me to surmise that these seals were tied by means of such leaves. The mark seen on the back of many of them is like the impression which one half length of a *tāḍi* leaf would give. *Tāḍi* trees are standing in large numbers in the locality even now and their leaves are easily obtainable. These sealings were needed for being fastened to letters or manuscripts or other documents sent from Nālandā. They would vouch for the genuineness of the documents and might have also been affixed to the certificates '*praśaṁsā*—or *pramāṇa-patras*' which the various educational establishments at Nālandā gave to their scholars to distinguish them from frauds of whom Hsüan Tsang has spoken in his accounts. The *tāḍi* leaves would serve the purpose of the modern 'tape'. The seals with deep grooves or holes piercing them right through were fastened by means of strings or by cloth. Some of them bear impressions which are clearly of cloth. One seal has still got a piece of white *khādi* cloth with which it was tied to some document. The *khādi* piece is bleached and still keeps its whiteness.

These seals are of various types and were evidently issued by the different *vihāras* or *saṅghas* at Nālandā. Some of the *saṅghas* represented by these specimens are :—

1 *Chāturddiś-āryya-bhikshu-saṅgha*,
2 *Gandhakuṭī-vāsika-bhikshu-saṅgha*,
3 *Mūlanavakarmma-vārika-bhikshu-saṅgha* and
4 *Vārika* or *ēka-vārika-bhikshu-saṅgha*.

The majority of these seals belong to the Mahāvihāra or the great monastery of Nālandā. The upper field of these seals is taken by the Wheel of the Law flanked by a deer (Pl. II, *b*). This was the device of the Deer-park where Gautama Buddha first set the *Dharma-chakra* or the Wheel of the Law in motion *i.e.*, preached for the first time the '*dharma*' he found out to the five blessed-ones (*pañcha-bhadra-vargīyas*), the flanking deer indicating the locality which was then called '*Mṛigadāva*'. It was adopted by the Pāla kings of Bengal who patronised Buddhism very liberally. Nālandā was the centre of learning and the '*dharma*' was preached from Nālandā through the revered *bhikshus* and the Buddhist works were written at and sent out from Nālandā. This we learn

from the charter of Dēvapāladēva, the famous Pāla king of Bengal. It was quite appropriate therefore that this symbol was adopted for the seals of Nālandā which was highly instrumental in the advancement or propagation of Buddhism. The Pālas adopted the insignia out of respect for the *āchāryas* of Nālandā and love for Buddhism which they were eager to propagate. They used the symbol not only on the seals of copper-plates or the clay seals but for sculptures in stone or bronze as well.

*Secular or Civil Seals.*—The other seals—I am using the terms seal and sealing promiscuously in the sense of impressions—are secular or civil while those which I have noticed before may be called Religious, Ecclesiastical or Academic. These possess great historical importance and deserve a detailed examination. Some of them belong to kings or emperors, others to officials and private individuals. Besides, there are seals in this collection which relate to Government offices, corporate bodies and villages or village communities.

*Variety and Symbols.*—The seals recovered from Nālandā are not only more numerous but more varied from those excavated at other sites such as Basāṛh, the old Vaiśālī. They are chiefly Buddhist, only very few being Brahmanical or non-sectarian. Under the latter head may be placed the seals or plaques of some royal persons and other individuals. In shape they are mostly circular or oval. Some are triangular or of the form of long beads or balls.

As to the symbols on them the majority which consist of the Nālandā mahāvihāra seals, bear the *Dharmachakra* insignia, as has just been stated. On the other seals various symbols are to be noticed, *e.g.*, *Gajalakshmī*, *maṅgalakalaśa*, *pādukā*, *śaṅkha*, *triśūla*, *vēdī*, *dhvaja*, *vṛishabha*, *siṁha*, *sūrya* and *chandra*. The Persian fire altar seen on some and resembling the similar symbol on seals found at Basāṛh (No. 9) is noteworthy.

*Royal Seals.*—Illustrations of all the important seals which are of distinct types are given below with brief descriptions omitting the measurements. The royal seals are usually large in size. This might be due to the status of the personage who issued them. They must have been tied with stout strings at different places on the reverse. It is to be regretted that in most cases we have not been able to recover good complete specimens of these royal tokens and are therefore unable to settle several points connected with them. As is usually the case the most important and vital portions are the most affected.

The seals which are of red clay are all baked. Those which are yellowish are perhaps half burnt. A few specimens which have a yellow or darkish tinge might be sun-burnt or unbaked. They were probably heated shortly before the despatch of letters. The method of using these seals seems to have been different from the one employed in the case of the seals which Sir Aurel Stein recovered from places like Khotan. Even the seals excavated at Vaiśālī were also used differently.

All these seals are in the Sanskrit language and in the northern script, the earlier ones being written in the Gupta and the later ones in the early Nāgarī alphabet. No specimen has yet been found written in the pre-Gupta alphabet.

The earliest of these seals which I have been able to identify is that of Budhagupta.[1] It is to be regretted that his complete pedigree is not preserved in the legend but that he was of the Gupta descent from Kumāragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta (II) cannot be doubted. No other seal of this ruler has yet been found and it is good that even such a fragmentary specimen has been secured. The seal of Narasiṁhagupta, though not entire, is another valuable find. It establishes the identity of the King as the son of Puragupta born of the queen consort 'śrī-Vainyadēvī[2]' and not Vatsadēvī as has hitherto been believed. The seal of Kumāragupta, the son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta, is more important for it enables us to find out the correct names of the mothers of Kumāragupta and Narasiṁhagupta. Fleet, Smith and other writers took these names as Mahālakshmīdēvī and Vatsadevī. Hoernle thought that the former name was 'Śrīmatīdēvī'. This seal clearly shows that these names are śrī-Vainyadēvī[2] and śrī-Mitradēvī. Vainya is a synonym of Kubēra, the god of wealth. The name Vainyagupta is to be met with among the Gupta Kings of Bengal. The seal of this king, namely, Vainyagupta, has also been secured at Nālandā and is herein published. His copper-plate inscription with a seal from Tippera in East Bengal has already been brought to light.[3] Sir Richard Burn[4] in his letter to me thinks that Vainya is another name of *Vajra* whom Hsüan Tsang mentions as the son of Bālāditya.[5] He bases this opinion on the authority of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the St. Petersburg *dictionary* where Vainya is derived from Vēna and is connected with Indra. Vajra is the thunderbolt and Vainya is a patronymic from Vēna who is Indra. The derivation which the *Brāhmaṇas* give is too comprehensive and I do not know if it can be correctly adopted in this case. Besides, there is no apparent reason why Hsüan Tsang should give a name which was not adopted in the official documents, namely, the copper-plate and the seal. In either case my point remains unaffected. Vainya and Mittra are two divinities in the Hindu pantheon. The two queens were designated after them. The seal of Vainyagupta is fragmentary and the legend preserved on it does not give any other name. So his pedigree remains unknown. Even his copper-plate inscription does not supply it. Our fragment is, however, interesting for it shows that Vainyagupta was an independent ruler as he is herein styled *Mahārājādhirāja*.

*Seals of Chandras.*—Another valuable seal in the collection is that of [Bha]-gavachchandra, a king who was not known before. From the description given in the legend written on the seal he appears to have been the son of the sister's son of Gōpachandra. The latter king is known to us from his copper-plate inscription that has already been published.[6] If he is the same ruler as Gōpichandra or Gōvichandra of Tārānātha, the Lama historian of Tibet, he might

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[1] See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 72ff.

[2] [ Correct reading is *śrī-Chandradēvī*.—Ed.]

[3] *Ind. His. Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 53ff. and a plate.

[4] I understand that Sir Richard Burn is discussing this interesting point in his Chapter on the Guptas which will appear in the 2nd Vol. of the *Cambridge History of India*.

[5] See above p. 15.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 203 and plate.

be identical with the chief whose songs are sung in the North of India,[1] and who is said to have relinquished his kingdom at the instance of his mother and became a *yōgin* whom, tradition says, Bhartṛihari initiated into the mysteries of *yōga*. There he is known as Gōpichand. He had no issue. He renounced the harem and became a monk. His mother did not like his ascending the throne which was cursed—whoever occupied it in the direct line would become a leper. He was a very handsome young man. His mother saw him bathing one day. Thinking of the curse she was very much moved by the thought that her dear son of such a lovely body would soon be an abominable leper. She decided to ask him to leave the throne and he acted according to her directions. This tale is largely sung in the Punjab where it is very popular. It is often staged also. The legend on this seal would show that Gōpachandra had no direct heir and that his '*svasrīya*' (sister's son) from Śyāmadēvī became his successor. The initial letter of the name is not preserved but in all probability it was *Bha* and his full name was Bhagavachchandra. The seal would further show that Gōpachandra was a very powerful and famous ruler though it does not specify the dynasty to which he or his successor belonged. That they were Vaishṇavite kings is shown by their very names. The tradition to which Pargiter alludes in his article would indicate that Gōpa or Gōpichandra was the grandson of Bālāditya and son of Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal. He might have gone to and settled in the extreme eastern province of Bengal during the Hūṇa onslaught and after the powerful hand of Yaśōvarmadēva was withdrawn in the latter half of the 6th century of the Christian era.

There is another fragmentary seal in the collection which preserves the latter part of the name *i.e.*, *-chandraḥ* and gives a legend which resembles the one found on the seal of [Bha]gavachchandra. Whether this seal belongs to Gōpachandra, Bhagavachchandra or any other 'Chandra' cannot be stated definitely.

*Miscellaneous Seals.*—In the collection we have a group of five seals which represent a dynasty not known so far. Only one of them is entire though the legend on it is badly worn. The seals of King Mānasiṁha[2] possess their own interest. Of the three specimens found in the collection, one is quite complete (S. i 842). This and other specimens of the kind will suffice to give us an idea of the development of the art of seal making in those days. These seals can compare well with the Moghul coins which are so often admired. In many cases their legends are much more sublime; for is not the stanza :—

*Varṇ-āśrama-dharma-vidaḥ........́.jayati jagat-prītayē ˙ lakshma* nobler and more dignified than the egoistic bombastic Moghul couplets like

ز راست از پسر اکبر بادشاه
بران از نام شاه نور علی نور
جهان فروز گشت بکثر سکه زر
ز نور نام جہان گیر شاہ اکبر

[1] [ His songs are also well known in Bengal.—Ed.]
[2] [ The correct name is *Īśānasiṁha*.—Ed.]

found on the coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr? The legend is written in Sanskrit verse as are the legends on most of the Gupta coins and in the Gupta script. It is not known to which dynasty the King Mānasiṁha belonged. He might have been a petty chief related, possibly, to Paśupatisiṁha whose seal has also been found (S. I, 687, etc.). These seals are remarkable for the aesthetic merit they possess and I doubt if the assertion of the late Dr. V. Smith 'that the art of coinage certainly decayed so decisively that not even one mediaeval coin deserves notice for its aesthetic merit' should be taken seriously. These seals have no monetary value but taking the word in the original meaning might be termed coins. In any case their exquisite execution would prove that the art of coinage did not deteriorate but continued to develop even in the 7th century A.D.

The collection contains another interesting seal though the personages mentioned in the legend have not been identified. It is fragmentary unfortunately, but from the description given in the legend it would appear that they were important potentates in that they are called *Mahārājādhirāja*. The names of 'Mitya' and 'Vitavva', provided they have been read correctly, seem to indicate southern extraction though the expression *(varṇṇ–ā)śrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta* appearing in the legend would connect the rulers with the Maukharis. One of the names begins with the letters *Jarā*, which reminds us of Jarāsandha of the *Mahābhārata* episode.

*Prāgjyōtisha Seals.*—The seals of the Maukhari kings and of Harshavardhana have already been described in my article in the *Epigraphia Indica* and need not be dilated upon here. But the Prāgjyōtisha seals which have also been recovered do require special notice. The fragment of the seal of Bhāskaravarmman has already been noticed in detail elsewhere.[1] The seals I have now in view are of the successor of the Kāmarūpa King Supratishṭhita-(varman) whose name is partly preserved. The legend ends in *(varm=ē)ti*. The name with which the penultimate line ends is śrī-Supratishṭhita. The pedigree given in the seal after Pushyavarman is:—Pushyavarmā, his son Samudravarmā, his son Balavarmā, who was born of Dattavatī, his son Kalyāṇavarmā born of Ratnavatī, his son Gaṇapativarmā born of Gandharvavatī, his son Mahēndravarmā born of Yajñavatī, his son Nārāyaṇavarmā, born of Suvratā, his son Bhūtivarmā born of Dēvamatī, his son Chandramukhavarmā, born of Vijñānavatī, his son Sthiravarmā born of Bhōgavatī, his son Susthitavarmā born of Nayanaśōbhā, his son Supratishṭhitavarmā, born of Dhruvalakshmī[2]. Whether there was any other name after these is not quite clear.

A fragment from the right side showing Vishṇu riding Garuḍa in the upper field and portion of a nine lined legend bespeaks of another king or dynasty which requires identification.

There is yet another interesting seal which requires special mention. It is of Samāchāra[dēva*]. The legend is much worn, but suffices to set at rest the controversy about the genuineness of the Gugrāhāti plate of the time of

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[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 151.

[2] Variants of some of these names are also known. For example, Susthitavarman is known as Mṛigāṅka and Dhruvalakshmī is called Śyāmadēvī. See Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1666-1667.

M. Samāchāradēva.[1] On the evidence of this seal and of the gold coin that plate has to be taken as a genuine document.

These are the royal seals in clay which have been excavated at Nālandā. Evidently all these royalties patronized the religious and educational institutions established at Nālandā. That Harsha took special interest in Nālandā is shown by the accounts of Hsüan Tsang. His seals have also been found here. I have published them in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

Only one small seal of Dēvapāladēva has been found here. It might be of the famous Pāla king himself. We know he was a great patron of Nālandā. The interest he took in the monastic establishment of Nālandā would be indicated by his appointing an abbot of Nālandā from the Yaśōvarmmapura-vihāra as stated in the Ghōsrāwāñ stone inscription. Some seals, which are similarly small and plain and bear names which appear to be of the Pāla kings, have also been unearthed. They are also being described below with illustrations.

*Seals of Corporations or Jānapadas.*—Mention may now be made of the official seals, the seals of offices, of corporate bodies, and the like. Some thirteen seals have been found whose legends name the *Jānapadas* to which they belonged. In the legend the name of the village to which the seal belongs is given first either in the locative singular or compounded with the term *Jānapada* which follows it. In some cases the name of the village is not clear but that sort of obscurity does not affect the meaning. Except in one case where the length mark is not distinct, all these seals invariably give the term *Jānapada.* The legend in two cases names the corporate body or office which was higher than that of the village to whose corporation the seal belonged. One of these seals is connected with the '*Jānapada*' of (lit. located in) the *vihāra* of the village of Aṅgāmi (?) and another to the village of Māṁnayikā. Both of these villages are mentioned as subordinate (lit. tied or attached) to Nālandā. The legend on one of these describes the *Jānapada* as located (°*stha*) in the monastery and would clearly show that the *Jānapada* was an office or corporate body which was distinct from the inhabitants of the village named in the legend; the villagers as such could not have migrated to the monastery. These two legends respectively read as :—

*Śrī-Nālandā-pratibaddha Āṅgāmi-grāma-vihārastha-jānapadasya*

and

*Śrī-Nālandā-pratibaddha-Māṁnayikā-grāma-jānapadasya.*

Both of these seals are represented in the plate. The names of the thirteen villages to which those *jānapadas* belonged, as recorded in the legends given on the seals, are :

(1) Purikā, (S. I, 374).
(2) Jakkurikā.
(3) Varakīya (S. 9, R. 91).
(4) Brāhmaṇī or Brahmaśrī (S. 9, R. 92).
(5) Udradvārasthāna, (*Sthāna* in all probability stands for the modern *thānā.*) (S. 9, R. 92).

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[1] See Bhandarkar's *List of Inscr.*; No. 1725. The name as preserved in the seal reads only *Samāchāra.*

(6) Navakō (S. 9, R. 92).
(7) Māṁnāyikā (S. 9, R. 16).
(8) Ghanāñjana (S. 9, R. 19 and R. 1A) (modern Ghenjan in Gayā Dt.).
(9) Kāligrāma (S. 9, R. 55).
(10) Aṅgāmi (S. 9, R. 144).
(11) Danṭhā (S. 9, R. 56).
(12) Chand[ēkaya] (S. 9, R. 1A).
(13) Alīkapṛishṭha (S. 9, R. 1A).[1]

*Janapada* ordinarily (*i.e.*, according to lexicons) means a community, nation or people as opposed to the sovereign. This Wilson has stated in his dictionary (p. 410, col. 2) where he has given references to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (ii), the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* (viii, 147), the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, (XIII, f), etc. So *Jānapada* with a *vṛiddhi* formation would signify 'of the *Janapada*'. These seals clearly show that *Jānapada* must have meant a 'corporate body' and that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was perfectly right when in his learned book '*Hindu Polity*' he gave out that meaning to this term. No other proof is now needed to substantiate his interpretations. These seals of Nālandā would further show that in some cases there were two corporate bodies one being subordinate to the other and some were held in a *thānā* or police station like Jakkurikā. These corporate bodies were distinct from what was known as *grāma* or village. This we infer from the legends like *Suchaṇḍādakīya*[2]*-grāma-mudr-ēyaṁ* given on a die which was also excavated at Nālandā. The *grāma-mudrā* or seal of the village seems to be distinct from the seal of a municipality or *jānapada*. Such villages as had their own seals probably administered their affairs through some *pañchāyat* or assemblies, *etc.* This is evidenced by the legend *Valladihīya-haṭṭa-Mahājanasya*. The market of Valladihīya had its own *panchayat*. Mr. Jayaswal has lucidly discussed this point in his aforesaid book and I need not dilate on it here.

*Seals of Offices and Officials.*—Several seals of officials or offices have also been unearthed at Nālandā. When classified they come under one or the other of the offices named in the following twenty-three legends :—

*1 Rājagṛihē vishay-ādhikaraṇasya (S. I, 794).*
*2 Saṅgha-naya-pratishṭhita-Rājagṛiha vishayasya (S. I, 687).*
*3 Rājagṛiha-vishayē Pilipinkā-nayasya (S. I, 823).*
*4 Gayā-vishay-ādhikaraṇasya (S. I, 829).*
*5 Gayā-vishayasya (S. I, 825).*
*6 Gay-ādhishṭhānasya (S. I, 828).*
*7 Śōṇ-āntarāla-vishayē adhikaraṇasya (S. I, 790).*
*8 Magadha-bhuktau Kumār-āmāty-ādhikaraṇasya (S. I, 798).*
*9 Śrāvasti-bhuktau Nay-ādhikaraṇasya (S. I, 821).*
*10 Nagarabhuktau Kumār-āmāty-ādhikaraṇasya (S. I, 797).*
*11 Dharmm-ādhikaraṇasya (S. I, 669).*
*12 Śrī-Śilāditya-Dharmm-ādhikaraṇasya (S. I, 644).*

[1] [I read some of these names differently : No. 3 Dhīrakīya ; No. 4 Vrā(Brā)h[m]aṇī; No. 5 Udumvarasthāna ; No. 6 [Tara]kō ; No. 7 Māluyikā ; No. 8 Ghṛitāñjana ; No. 10 Bhūtikā (?) and No. 11 Daṇḍa.—Ed.]
[2] [I read the name as *Suvarṇṇōdakīya*.—Ed.]

13 *Dakshiṇa-Mōrōḥ*[1] *? paśchima-skandhē Sapradhāna-vishayasya* (*S. I, 800*).
14 *Kṛimilā-vishayē Kāvā*(*or chā ?*)*la-grāmē vishaya-Mahattama-Narasvāmina* [*ḥ**] (*S. I, 824*).
15 *Kṛimilā-vishayē Sapradhānasya* (*S. I, 346 and 802*).
16 *Vallādihīya-haṭṭa-Mahājanasya.*
17 *Vallādihīya-grāmasya.*
18 *Vallādihīya-Brāhmaṇānām.*
19 *Vallādihīya-agrahārasya* (*S. I, 830*).
20 *Vallādihīya-Rāja-Vaiśyānām* (*S. I, 673*).
21 *Śrīman-nava-karmaṭhānām* (*?*) *Traividyasya.*
22 *Vaṇṭāgrahāra-Vaṭaka-grām-āgrahāra-Traividyasya* (*S. I, 806*).
23 *Rājagrihē Chāturvaidya-* (*S. I, 806*).

The names of different offices put down in such seals would show how elaborate the system of administration connected with Nālandā must have been in existence during the early mediaeval period, *i.e.*, from about the seventh to about the tenth centuries of the Christian era. The terms like *Brāhmaṇānām, Traividyasya, Chāturvaidyasya* found in them do not indicate any special individual but were meant to signify certain communities or functionaries. The *agrahāra*, we know from the grants found in Southern India and elsewhere, were the gift-villages of the Brāhmaṇas. Traividya must have been a teacher conversant with the *trividyā* or triple knowledge or the three *Vēdas*. These are not administrative or fiscal terms in any way and are more or less of academic nature. No seal of any guild has yet been found, nor of any *śrēshṭhin, sārthavāha* or of *kulika*, such as were excavated at Basāṛh, the modern representative of the antique Vaiśālī. The seal of the *Rājavaiśyas* has been found no doubt and its importance is like that of the tokens of *śrēshṭhins* or *sārthavāhas*, the bankers of today. One seal gives *haṭṭa-Mahājana*, which means the *pañchāyat* of the market. *Yuvarāja* does not figure in any of the legends on the Nālandā seals, nor a *Taravara* or a *balādhikṛita.*

The variety of the Nālandā seals is, however, much greater than of those found elsewhere. The offices named in the legends quoted above are mostly these :—

1 *Adhikaraṇa,*
2 *Vishay-ādhikaraṇa,*
3 *Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa,*
4 *Nay-ādhikaraṇa,*
5 *Dharm-ādhikaraṇa,*
6 *Vishaya-Mahattama,*
7 *Haṭṭa-Mahājana,* and
8 *Rāja-Vaiśya.*

*Adhishṭhāna* and *adhikaraṇa* might mean both the court and the official in charge. *Traividya* or °*vaidya* of these seals might have been titles likewise. *Grāma, naya, vishaya, maṇḍala* and *bhukti* were the divisions of territories.

[1] [My reading is *Dakshiṇa-girau.*—Ed.]

*Vishaya*, as I stated long ago,[1] seems to have been a subdivision of a *máṇḍala* which might be equated with the modern district. *Naya* as can be surmised from the territorial divisions mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of Dēvapāladēva, was a division smaller than *vishaya*. The legends noted above would show that this division into *naya* was in vogue not only in the old Rājagṛiha territory but in the *bhukti* of Śrāvasti also. *Bhukti* was a much larger division. The principles on which these divisions were made are not known at present and it is therefore not safe to equate these terms with the English words, commissionership, district, etc. These divisions were effected in ancient India for the sake of revenue and were not always alike in different localities. A *vishaya* must have had a chief officer to control its affairs and he was called *vishayapati* or District Magistrate. These affairs were controlled through a court of justice or *adhikaraṇa*. Distinction was made between the seal of a *vishaya* and of an *adhikaraṇa* of a *vishaya*. The former was more general and the latter was particular to the courts of justice of a *vishaya*. I would prefer to take *adhikaraṇa* in the sense of a court or tribunal, for, it has been used in that sense in literature and suits the context of the legends on these seals very well. There is no necessity of taking it in the sense of 'chief'. Just as *vishayādhikaraṇa* would mean the court of a *vishaya*, the *adhishṭhānādhikaraṇa* would stand for the court of the principal or capital town. In the same way the expression *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* would signify the court of the prince's or heir-apparent's minister. This court must have consisted of more than one magistrate or judge, each of these officers having the same rank of a *Kumār-āmātya* or Prince's minister. Just as a *vishaya* had its court of justice or *adhikaraṇa* so did *naya* have a *nayādhikaraṇa*; the *Dharmādhikaraṇa* was the court of *Dharma*, *i.e.*, of charitable institutions. One such court was of *śrī-Śīlāditya* (S. I, 644). Sometimes a *vishaya* was taken as a whole and sometimes with a chief man at its head. That is why we have in S. I, 346 and 802 the epithet *sa-pradhānasya* and in S. I, 824 *vishaya-mahattama-Narasvāminaḥ* which respectively mean 'of the *vishaya* together with its headman' and 'of *Narasvāmin*, the *vishaya-Mahattama*'. The legends like '*Śōṇ-āntarāla-vishay-ādhikaraṇasya*' would mean 'of the court of the subdivision of Śōṇ-āntarāla' or the region intermediate (between the Ganges and) the 'Sōṇa' *i.e.*, the present Shāhābād District. They would show that the territorial divisions were not very different from those of the present day. Besides, a word like *adhikārin* or *adhyaksha* would be employed if the sense was superintendent, chief or officer. To take *adhikaraṇa* in the sense of chief or superintendent would not fit in the legend *Kumār-āmāty-ādhikaraṇa* for what would be the chief or superintendent of the minister of a prince? There is no necessity of imagining an officer of the rank of *Kumār-āmāty-ādhikaraṇa* in the case of a seal attached to the Tippera copper-plate[2] and other documents for all such seals belonged to different courts of the heirs-apparent concerned. No treatise having yet been found where the exact import or definition of these terms is given, their true significance remains unknown. The loss of the letters

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, p. 318.
[2] *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 121.

or documents to which these seals were tied is much to be deplored for had they been found we would have been able to know more than we do now regarding the official and private life in early mediaeval India.

*Seals of high officials.*—Some seals of high officials named in the legends have also been found. They are very interesting in that they show how developed this art of making seals was in India about the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era. The figures or symbols engraved in relief on these seals are quite realistic. The legends written on them are, as I have remarked above, in Sanskrit verse just as the legends on the coins of the Gupta Kings are. They are written very beautifully and would show how the officials were devoted to their liege-lord and to the welfare of the people (S. I, 795 and 687, etc.). In this lot there are only three seals where the high state officials are named, the names being Paśupatisiṁha, Dēvasiṁha and Sagara. They are all marked by the figure of a lion sitting on his haunches and facing the proper right. The two bigger ones, Nos. 687 and 795 praise the person who issues them as one who has vanquished the group of his foes, is just, a great fighter in the army and is a devoted servant of the king. The other one simply names the minister. No information is supplied as to the king concerned.

*Personal Seals.*—Apart from these, several seals of private individuals have been dug out at Nālandā. Instead of giving a detailed description of all of them I think it will be sufficient to put in a list of the names. Some of them bear one name only, while others give more than one name, showing thereby that they were conjointly issued by the persons named on them. Some of these persons must have been in repeated communication with Nālandā for several of their seals or tokens have been recovered at the site. One class consists of seals which are plain and give one name each and the other gives such of them as bear more than one name and have symbols and designs.

## Monastic Seals.

The seals of the great monastery of Nālandā have been found in large numbers in different areas. The majority come from the monastery marked No. 9 where no less than 690 seals have been found stored in one chamber which must have been the record room of the establishment in that area. In all *775* specimens have been found so far excluding fragments. They are practically identical. The upper field is occupied by the Sārnāth or *Dharmachakra* symbol usually shown above horizontal lines and the lower field by the legend reading

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahā
2 vihārīy-ārya-bhi
3 kshu-saṅghasya

and written in the mediaeval Nāgarī characters with an ornamental design below (Pl. II, *b*). As remarked above the insignia was an adaptation of the symbol of the "Deer-Park" and was quite appropriate for Nālandā which caused the spread of the "Law" both by preaching and by writing—'*dharma-ratna-lēkhana*'

—and was the abode of the exponent of 'Dharma' -'*Prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-dharma-ratna-sthānīya*' as the inscription on the Dēvapāladēva's copper-plate beautifully puts it. At Sārnāth the 'Dharma' was preached by one 'bhikshu' namely Gautama Buddha, but at Nālandā hundreds and thousands of *bhikshus* preached it and thereby spread it not only in India but in distant lands like Tibet and China.

These seals are of two kinds. The majority bear only the legend which contains the name of the monastery and the assembly of the monks who issued it. The rest add the name of the village particularly connected with the latter or some other appellation and are thus combined seals. The following seals come under the former category.

S. I, 1005; S. 4, 40 (Pl. II, *c*).

These are circular yellowish pieces. The upper field has the *Dharmachakra* insignia and the lower field under a straight line has—

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mūlanava-
2 karmmavārika-bhikshūṇām.

S. IA, 455.

Broken seal of blackish clay. *Dharmachakra* device on the top partly preserved. Legend is written in two lines and reads:—

1 Śrī-Kara[jña]-mahāvi[hā]-
2 rē bhikshusaṅghasya.

S. I, 1006.

Ordinary *Dharmachakra* device on the top and two lined legend below. The first line seems to read *Tilakāṇḍavikāya* and second [*la Buddhabhikshu-saṅghasya*].

S. I, 305.

Circular, yellowish piece, upper field enclosed in the section of a circle whose ends rest on a thick horizontal line above which sits in *padmāsana* a four armed goddess with different attributes, and below, a lion above whom two horizontal lines, below these is written

Śrīmad-Dēvēśvarī.

S. I, 1005 (Pl. II, *d*).

Yellowish piece, circular and with *Dharmachakra* above dotted line below which the legend:—

1 Śrī-Nālandā-cha(*or* va)krā-
2 rē Vārika-bhikshūṇāṁ.

S. I, 310.

The legend seems to read:—

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra-
2 [Guṇākara]-Bauddha-bhikshūṇām.

S. I, 848 (Pl. II, *e*).

Fragment, yellowish, with a groove-like hole pierced right through showing impressions of cloth which was passed when it was tied to some document. The seal impression is on a rather circular area, with *Dharmachakra* symbol and an altar, below two horizontal lines :—

1 . . . .[ndā]yāṁ śrī-Śakrāditya-kārita-
2 hāṛē chāturddiśīy-ārya-mā(ma)hā-
3 bhikshusaṅghasya.

Unfortunately the specimen is broken. Still it would show that Śakrāditya 'set up' something which was connected with the great 'bhikshu community of the four quarters'. The name Śakrāditya occurring in the legend would speak in favour of the list of the kings given by Hsüan Tsang.[1] In the copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva (line 39) *chāturddiś-ārya-bhikshu-saṅgha*[2] is spoken of. Such monasteries were meant for the bhikshus of all the quarters.

S. 9, R. 18.

Small circular and oblong impressions showing the *Dharmachakra* insignia at the top and the legend

Śrī-Nālandā-bhikshu-saṅghasya.

below.

S. I, 919.

Piece of reddish baked clay with one complete and three broken impressions of one and the same seal, a deep groove at the back. The complete impression has one oval border line which encompasses the seal area. At the top there is a *Dharmachakra* flanked by a gazelle and under two horizontal lines in the lower field the legend in four lines

1 Śrī-Nālandā-cha-
2 tur-bhagavatām
3 sana-vāri-
4 ka-bhikshūṇā[ṁ].[3]

S. I, 675 (Pl. III, *a*).

Yellowish piece of clay, mostly hollow at the back where traces of three or four raised lines are still visible. Broken at the left, bears four circular impressions of one and the same seal of which two on the right are entire. The *Dharmachakra* device surmounts the legend which is written in four short lines reading

1 Śrī-Nālandā-[chā ā]
2 Bālāditya-Gandhaku-
3 dyā[4]-Vārika-bhikshū-
4 [ṇām].

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[1] Beal, ii—168, 170 ; Watters, ii—164-165.

[2] For *chāturddiśabhikshu-saṅgha* or clergy in its universality, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 59, the Mathura Lion capital inscription and the Shorkoh copper vessel inscr., etc.

[3] [To me the reading appears to be—*Bhagavat*(*d*)-[*ā*]*sanavārika-bhikshūṇā*[*ṁ*]—Ed.]

[4] [The reading appears to be *śrī-Nālandāya*(*yāṁ*) *śrī-Bālāditya-gandhakuḍī*.—Ed.]

Possibly the *chā* '*ā*' stands for *chāturddiś-āryya-bhikshu-mahā-vihāra* and the legend signifies "Of the Vārikabhikshus in the Gandhakudi(ṭi) of Bālāditya (in the great universal vihāra of the revered friars) of Nālandā".

S. I, 938.

Several specimens. Black clay piece, sunk at the back. Has four impressions on the obverse, the central one is rather oblong and the largest. It has the *Dharmachakra* device at the top and three lined legend under two horizontal lines, which reads :—

1 Śrī-Nālandā-chātu-
2 [rddiśika-Samavāri]ka-
3 bhikshu-saṅghasya.

S. I, 912.

Somewhat circular area, at the top, the Deer-Park device, and at the bottom a conch; between these two the legend in one short line Śrī-Saṅghasya "Of the illustrious Saṅgha". No groove or depression or hole at the back. Perhaps it was a token of the general community of the monks.

S. 9, R. 91.

Top *Dharma°* device.
Bottom
1 Śrī-Nālandā-Satraka
2 Samavārika-bhikshūṇām.

S. IA, 442; S. 9, 75 (Pl. III, *b*).

Oval piece of burnt reddish clay, pierced at both ends, having two different impressions one on each side. The one to our left is circular, the areas being enclosed by two concentric circles and divided into two parts by two horizontal lines. At the top there is the Sārnāth symbol below a legend in three lines :—

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārē chā-
2 turddiś-ārya-bhikshusaṅgha-
3 sya.

The impression on the left is oval. The upper field is taken up by a four-armed goddess, Durgā, seated on an animal which looks more like a buffalo than a lion, the horned head is clear. In the right upper hand of the goddess there is a *gadā* or mace, in the right lower, a sword, in the left lower, a lotus stalk. The legend which is given in the lower field consists of one short line which is mostly worn out. It ends in *grāmasya*. The three letters preceding this word giving the name of the village are too faint to be read with certainty.

S. I, 1046.

Some oblong pieces. Below the *Dharmachakra* design we have the following legend :—

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahā-
2 vihārik-ārya-bhi-
3 kshusaṅghasya.

S. IA, 357 (Pl. III, *c*).

Circular, unburnt, small groove on the back, conch at top, two-lined legend enclosed in a raised circle below reads

1 Śrī-Dēvapā-
2 la-gandhakuḍyāṁ(ṭyāṁ).

[In the Gandhakuḍi(ṭi) of Dēvapāla.]

S. 9, R. 15.

Three specimens. Rough, grooved piece of burnt clay, with circular impression, the upper portion of which has the *Dharma*° symbol and the lower

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārī-
2 ya-[chāturddiśa]-vṛiddha-bhikshūṇām

The reading is conjectural.

S. 9, R. 15 (Pl. III, *d*).

Two impressions, slightly different from one another, burnt clay, reddish, *Dharma*° symbol on top. The legend below reads

1 Śrī-Nālandā-chīvarakā[jya]
2 —[pān-ā]rya-bhikshusaṅghasya.

The reading (°jyapānā) is conjectural. If it is correct this *saṅgha* might have been in charge of the supply of garments, etc. It is a surmise based on the inscription of Yaśōvarman.[1]

S. 9, R. 15.

Circular, yellowish piece, small groove on back, upper field occupied by the *Dharma*° symbol and the lower by the legend

1 Śrī-Harivarmma-Mahāvi-
2 hārīy-āryabhikshu-sa-
3 ṅghasya.

Was this Harivarmman the Maukhari king of this name ? or rather one of the Varman rulers of Eastern Bengal ?

S. I, 1006 (Pl. III, *e*).

Circular, baked, round, grooved. Obverse upper field wheel on pedestal flanked by a deer. Below two horizontal lines legend in three lines.

1 Śrīmad-Uddaṇḍapura-[śrī]-Bōdhisa-
2 tvāgama-Mahāvihārīy-ā
3 rya-bhikshusaṅghasya.

Muhammadan historians seem to have called Uddaṇḍapura Adwand Bihār and Tibetans, Otantapuri. As remarked above *Uddaṇḍapura*[2] is identical with the modern Bihār-Sharīf.

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[1] [Reading appears to be 1 Śrī-Nālandā-chīvara-kōshṭhi- 2 k-āyāt-ā[rya]-bhikshu-saṅghasya.—Ed.]

[2] See *J. A. S. B. N. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 108 and Mem. *A. S. B.*, Vol. III, p. 13.

Several seals have been discovered at Nālandā which bear more than one legend and are, evidently, combined tokens. This is the case with good many monastic as well as other seals.

S. I, 348 (Pl. III, *f*).

Circular area in two border lines on right side. Here we see the *Dharmachakra* symbol and the legend:

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārē chā-
2 turddiś-āryabhikshusaṅgha-
3 sya.

On the left side of this sealing there is another which is oval in shape and enclosed in one line. Above two horizontal lines across the middle of this impression there is a *stūpa* flanked by a tree, the one on the right side looks to be a palm. In the lower field there is a neatly written legend of one line which reads '*Pāda-pāg-grāmasya*' meaning 'Of the village Pādapāg'. The village now called Paḍpā, which is situated some 6 miles to the south of Rājgīr, seems to be the representative of the village mentioned in this legend; the terminal *g* might be due to reduplication. Possibly, this village maintained a separate establishment at Nālandā which had this seal as its token. The seal is of baked clay and red in colour. The *saṅgha* of the main seal was the universal or common assembly of the venerable Buddhist monks such as is mentioned in the Dēvapāladēva copper-plate inscription.

S. I, 789 (Pl. III, *g*).

The Nālandā seal of the *chātur°* monks is here marked on the left side. The right side has an oval impression showing seated Gaṇēśa with four hands holding in right upper hand, a *paraśu*, right lower, rosary, left upper, dish of sweets, left lower *aṅkuśa* (?). Below two horizontal lines separating the lower field the legend, which might read *Udumbaraka--grāmasya*, *i.e.*, 'Of the village Udumbaraka'. This village also must have its own establishment at Nālandā.

S. I, 809.

It has a monastic seal like I, 348 on the left side. The right side shows a smaller sealing with Gaṇēśa in low relief below whom there is the legend in two lines. The first line contained the name of the village to whom the seal belonged. The second line reads *grāmasya* clearly.

S. I, 645 and 811 (Pl. III, *h*).

Left side occupied by the seal of the *chātur°* monks of Nālandā. The right side has a male figure seated on a *chauki* between a tree on the right hand and a *triśūla* on the left. Below the two horizontal lines which separate the upper from the lower field there is an obscure legend of one line reading like *Mallirasāla-grāmasya*.[1]

[1] [Reading seems to be Mallagrāmī(?)ṇa-grāmasya.—Ed.]

S. I, 836 and 807 (Pl. III, *i*).

The *chātur*°-monastic seal on left, on right, oval sealing showing at top a seated goddess with a child and having a tree to her right. The lower field separated by two lines has the legend :—

1 Aṁkōṭhasattā(?)grāma-
2 sya.

S. I, 787 (Pl. III, *j*).

Left side as above. Right side has a pointed oval area in one border line. The upper field above two horizontal lines has a standing four armed god with a tree on his left. The lower field has a legend of one line which seems to read

Sē[vattha]lika-grāmasya.

S. I, 831 (Pl. III, *k*).

Left side as before though the area is enclosed in three lines. The right side has an oval impression showing a seated four-armed deity, holding a *chakra* (?) in right upper hand and *triśūla* in left upper hand. The symbols of the lower hands are not clear. The legend below two lines reads

Nandana-grāmasya, *i.e.*, of the village of Nandana.

S. I, 547 (Pl. III, *l*).

Left side as above, though border lines are different. The right side has a four-armed goddess seated on an animal facing proper right side. The goddess holds sword in right upper hand and *triśūla* in the right lower hand ; a *chakra* in the left upper and an indistinct object in the left lower hand. A tree stands on each of her sides. Below two lines there is a legend reading *Dvitrā-grāmasya.*[1]

S. I, 813.

Ditto. Left, oval, with two-armed deity having *triśūla* on the left. Below two lines in lower field *Mu[kkyā]grāmasya.*

S. I, 139.

Left as above. Right, smaller impression showing a goddess above and an indistinct legend giving the name of some village below two dividing lines.

S. I, 668 (Pl. IV, *a*).

Ditto. Right side, two-armed goddess, sitting and flanked by a tree. Her right hand is raised in *abhayamudrā* and the left hand holds trident. The legend below two lines :—

*Taṭākā-grāmasya*, *i.e.*, of the village Taṭākā.

S. I, 833.

Ditto. Right side, in the upper field, one seated god with a canopy of hoods and standing figure on each side. The lower field has a legend of one line which

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[1] [Reading is *Dvisūtrā-grāmasya.*—Ed.]

gives the name of the village whose token it was. The name is not clear but seems to end in.

....*inak*[*ē*] [*gramasya*].

S. I, A, 401.

Yellowish piece with a hole from top to bottom, two impressions, one on each side, the one to left is circular and has '*Dharmachakra*' symbol above two horizontal lines, below which the legend—

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārē chā-
2 turdiś-ārya-bhikshu-saṅgha-
3 sya.

The impression on the right side is oval, the upper field has a seated male figure holding a pot in left hand and something indistinct in the right. The ornamentation at the back ground might be an aura. Below the two horizontal lines above which this figure sits is the one-lined legend reading :—

Vaitalā-grāmasya.

S. Ia, 442 (Pl. VI, *g*).

Yellowish, oblong piece, pierced; with two impressions. The one to left is oblong and has a four-armed divine figure flanked by a tree having a halo round the head. The lower upper hand holds a trident and the right upper a pot (?). The symbols in the left hands are not distinct. Below two horizontal lines the legend :—

Kālapīnāka-grāmasya.

The impression on the right side is circular and is identical with the one on the preceding specimen which gives *śrī-Nālandā, etc.*

S. I, 915.

A fragment of the upper side of a seal showing on left the remains of the Nālandā seal and on right side the upper portion of an oval impression with a six-armed goddess on bull between two trees, holding various attributes. Below two horizontal lines under the bull, there is a legend which is now partly preserved. The name of the village is not clear. It might be read

1 ....*dhyamaghōshē*-[*grā*]-
2 ...........

S. I, 730 (Pl. IV, *b*).

Oval, baked clay, with groove and flat depression at the back. On top, the *Dharmachakra* above three horizontal lines forming a pedestal flanked by a deer looking to it—the usual Nālandā insignia, below, in three lines

1 Śrī-Nā Dharmapāladē-
2 va-gandha-kuṭī-vāsi-
3 ka-bhikshūṇā[ṁ].

Taking *nā* in the first line to be an abbreviation of Nālandā it may be rendered as 'of the monks residing at the *gandhakuṭī* of Dharmapāladeva at the famous monastery of Nālandā'.

S. I, 1006 (Pl. IV, *c*).

Thin piece of yellowish clay with two grooves and flat depression at back. The seal area is circumscribed by a dotted circular line. The *Dharma*° device is broken. Below this symbol there is one straight line under which there is a three-lined legend which seems to read

1 Śrī-Sōmapāla-kā[rita]-
2 [ka ?]mmeyikā[1]-vihār[ī]-
3 ya-bhikshusaṅghasya.

Below the legend we see two horizontal lines and a floral design under them. The names are not clear. If they are as read here, the legend would mean 'of the community of the venerable monks of the Kammēyika-vihāra caused to be built by the illustrious Sōmapāla'. Who this Sōmapāla was is not known. Where that monastery was is also not known. But that *vihāra* also had the Nālandā insignia is clear.

S. I, 1006 (Pl. IV, *d*).

Circular yellowish clay seal—two specimens—showing the Nālandā symbol at the top and the legend in two lines :—

1 Śrī-Prathama-Śivapura-mahā-
2 vihārīy-[ārya]bhikshu-saṅgha.

below which on one specimen there is a floral design. Both the specimens show a groove at the middle and a rectangular flat depression on the reverse. The legend would mean 'of the venerable community of the monks of the first monastery of Śivapura'. Where this Śivapura was is to be found out. This monastery also had the same insignia of the main *vihāra* of Nālandā.

S. I, 828.

Two impressions on a yellow piece of clay. One to left has the '*Dharmachakra*' device on top and the legend

Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārē, etc.

The legend on the other seal, to right, is not clear.

S. I, 912.

Yellowish, plain impression, deep sunk in the middle, upper field has the '*Dharma*°' device. Below this we have

Śrī-Saṅghasya.

S. I, 411, 412.

These are clay seal impressions from the same die probably. The top is marked by the '*Dharmachakra*' device and the bottom by a floral design. Between them there is a two-lined legend reading

1 Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihār[ī]-
2 ya-va- -ra-[vṛiddha]-bhikshūṇāṁ.

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[1] [Reading may be [*Dha*]*mmōyikā*.—Ed.]

The clay seals numbered S. I, 612, 612*a* 27, 612*a* 20, 612*a* 11, 612*a* 6, 612*a* 18, 461, *etc.*, are more or less alike. On the top they have the '*Dharma-chakra*' device which in some looks more like a flower than a *chakra*. This would show that the significance of the 'wheel' began to be forgotten. The legend is written in three lines, mostly defaced. The name of the congregation is not clear.

S. I, 1026.

A small clay seal with '*Dharmachakra*' and two-lined legend reading probably (1) Śrī-Nālandā-bhi-(2) kshusaṅghasya.

S. IA, 342.

Here the name of the place is not preserved. The legend is three-lined and reads

1 ........... kāyā '
2 ārya-bhikshu-sa-
3 ṅghasya.

## Jānapada Seals.

S. I, 374 (Pl. IV, *g*).

Oval area in one border line, upper field occupied by a seated male figure round whose head there is a canopy of seven hoods and a tree on each side, he holds a vessel in the left and some indistinct object in the right hand. Below him three horizontal lines with the legend

1 Purikā-grāma-jā-
2 napadasya.

'of the village community of Purikā'. There must have been a groove which is now filled in by a rectangular piece. The seal is baked.

S. 9, R. 92.

Circular area enclosed in a line, top has some indistinct symbol below which there is a legend :—

1 Vārakīya-grā-
2 ma-[jā]napadasya.

'of the village community of Vārakīya'.

S. 9, R. 92.

Circular, burnt red clay, area enclosed in one line, upper field, a seated four-armed goddess, whose right upper hand holds a trident, right lower hand has a noose, left upper, lotus bud, left lower a vessel, tree on her left side. Below one horizontal line :—

1 Brāhmaṇī-grāma-jā[na]-
2 padasya.

'of the *janapada* of the Brāhmaṇī village'. In place of '*ṇī*' one might read *Srī* and the name of the village might be Brāhmaśrī ? Holes all round. It is also grooved.

S. 9, R. 92.

Ovàl, top has a tree flanked by some vessel like symbol. Lower field has *Udradvāra*[1]*-sthānē grāma-jānapadasya* ; 'of the village community of the police station Udradvāra'. Holes all round. Bottom side blank.

S. 9, R. 92.

Oval clay, burnt, grooved at back, damaged to its right, upper field divided by two straight lines above which stands a male figure within two trees. Lower field gives :—

1 . . Navakā(-?)grāma-
2 [jā]napadasya.

(*kā* might be *dā*- for which cf. Navadā).

S. I, 159 (Pl. IV, *h*).

Circular area in one border line, upper field occupied by a bird looking to right with a symbol (*vajra* ?) above the wing, the lower field has

1 Valladihīya-Haṭṭā
2 Mahājanasya.

'Of the traders of the market at Valladiha'. (*Diha* may be the same as the modern *dih* or mound).

It is unbaked mud and has a deep groove at the back.

S. 9, R. 16 (Pl. IV, *i*).

Oval, real area enclosed in one line, left hand top portion broken. Legend

1 Śrī-Nālandā-prativa(ba)ddha-Maṁ-
2 nayikā[2]-grāma-jānapada-
3 sya

'Of the Maṁnayikā village attached to Nālandā'. The name of the village might be Maṁva or Maṁlayika. The first letter of the second line is not clear. This document will prove that the corporation of the village was under the jurisdiction of Nālandā.

S. 9, R. 19 (Pl. IV, *j*).

Elongated oval piece with hole running from bottom to top for a string. The upper field is occupied by the eight-armed Durgā seated on a lion above two lines, below which there is the legend :—

1 Ghanāñjana[2]-grāma-ja-[or jā]-
2 napadasya.

The present name of the village is Ghenjana in Gayā District, where some Buddhist remains are still preserved as protected monuments.

S. 9, R. 54.

Burnt clay piece, pierced right through, the hole has a small *piece of cloth still sticking to* it, showing that cloth was also used for tying seals. The piece

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[1] [Reading is *Udūmvara*.—Ed.]
[2] [ I read *Māl*[*u*]*yikā* and *Ghritāñjana*.—Ed.]

is oval and elongated at bottom. It has two impressions, both too worn to read. The one to left is divided into two fields by means of two horizontal lines. In the upper field we see a *pīṭha* surmounted by a knob-like object, possibly *liṅga* (?) flanked by a pointed blade. On each side of this emblem there is a branch of a tree. The lower field is much larger than the upper and gives the legend in four lines. The first line seems to start with *Śrī-Nālandā*. The second line seems to contain the word *dvandva*. The legend ends in *sya*.

S. 9, R. 55.

Somewhat circular area in one border line, upper field, four-armed goddess seated on a crocodile (?), the lower field gives

1 Kāli-grāmakī-
2 ya-jānapada.

S. 9, R. 144 (Pl. V, *a*).

Reddish, burnt piece, upper portion broken, but impression intact, pierced right through. The impression is oval, the whole area is enclosed by a raised oval line. The upper field above two horizontal lines shows a divine figure, probably female, four-armed and seated on what appears to be *makara*, tree on her left. The legend is three-lined and given, as usual, in the lower field. It reads :

1 Śrī-Nālandā-pratibaddh-Ā-
2 ṅgāmi[1]-grāma-vihāra-
3 stha-jānapadasya.

The name of the village is not quite clear. 'Of the Municipal office located in the monastery of the village of Aṅgāmi attached to the illustrious Nālandā'. That a Municipal office was located in a monastery is noteworthy.

S. 9, R. 56 (Pl. V, *b*).

Oval, palm leaf impression with groove on back, obverse enclosed in one oval line, divided in two fields, the upper gives a *stūpa* which has a trident on the right side and a horned (?) animal on the left. Below two horizontal lines with dots between there is a two lined legend reading

1 Daṇthā (or Daṅghā)[1]-grāmīya-
2 jānapadasya.

S. 9, R. 92 (Pl. V, *c*).

Oval, yellowish piece, holes all round, back showing thin groove area on obverse enclosed by a thin raised line, upper field has two-armed divinity seated on lion holding *triśūla* in the left, the right hand being extended in *vara-mudrā*. The two lined legend below reads

1 Pañchamuṭikā-
2 jānapadasya.

'of the Municipal board of Pañchamuṭikā'.

[1] [I read *-pratibaddha-Bhūtikā-*[*grāma*]-and *Daṇḍa*.—Ed.]

S. 9, R. IA.

Oval, burnt, yellowish piece, elongated, with hole going from bottom to top. Area enclosed in one oblong raised line. The upper field above two horizontal lines shows eight-armed Siṁhavāhinī (Durgā) holding in right upper fourth hand a sword, right upper third hand a lotus, right upper 2nd hand a bell, right 1st hand stretched in *abhaya* pose; left 1st *vara*°, 2nd indistinct, 3rd snake (?), 4th noose, below the lines in the lower field :—

Dhanañjana[1]-grāma-jā-
napadasya.

The name of the village might be Dhanañjana

S. 9, R. IA.

Burnt, oblong piece, without hole or depression at back. Impression enclosed in oblong raised line. Upper field, four-armed goddess seated on lion (?), lower field under two horizontal lines :—

1 Chandēkaya-grāma-
2 ja(or-jā)napadasya.

S. 9, R. IA (Pl. V, *d*).

Oblong, brown piece, groove and palm leaf mark on back. Enclosed in oblong line, upper field four-armed Mahākālī (skeleton form)[2] facing right, skull in right lower hand, dagger in left upper, trident in left lower and goad in right upper hand. Her mouth is open and tongue is protruding.

Below two horizontal lines :—

1 Alīkapṛishṭha-grāma-
2 jānapadasya.

S. I, 780 (Pl. V, *e*).

Circular piece, burnt, brown, broken in two, area of the impression enclosed in a circular raised line, upper field to the left, a tree with sun and moon on sides; in the middle, a *liṅga*; to the right, bull; and a trident (?) and some other symbol. In the lower field which is separated by two lines, there is a legend in two lines which reads :

1 Jakkurakā-[sthāna]-[Sujā-grā]-
2 [ma]-jānapadasya.

The name of the village is not clear.

S. I, 666.

It is a round piece of baked clay, elongated at the ends, deeply sunk and the *obv.* is rectangular. The legend in two lines :—

1 Pāshukalpa-(?) (lp-ā)-
2 grahārasya.

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[1] [Reading is *Ghṛilāñjana* as in S. 9, R. 19 (see above p. 46).—Ed.]
[2] This form was taken by *Durgā* at the time when Raktabīja was to be killed.

## Seals of offices.

S. I, 794.

*Rājagṛiha.*—Upper field. Standing haloed Gajalakshmī flanked by an elephant and a corpulent seated male figure. A flag staff in a pot and flowers on sides. The Legend in lower field written below two lines in 7th century characters.

1 Rājagṛihē vishay-ādhi-
2 karaṇasya.

S. I, 649.

Fragment with a mutilated seated male figure, lower portion of a flag staff in a pot and the following portion of legend written below two broken lines.

1 Rājagṛihē vi[sha]y-ādhi-
2 karaṇasya.

S. I, 687.

Fragment showing lower portion of seated corpulent figure above two lines, the legend in the lower field written in 7-8th century script reading

1 Saṅghanay[1]-āpratishṭhita-Rāja-
2 gṛiha-vishayasya.

S. I, 823 (Pl. V, *f*).

Oval area, damaged at bottom. Upper field occupied by a seated figure with a halo, right hand seems to hold a torch (?), left hand has a narrow-necked vessel. On the right there is a tree in blossoms and on the left a flower. The lower field separated by two horizontal lines has the legend :—

1 Rājagṛiha-vishayē
2 Pilipiṅkā[2]-nayasya.

'Of the subdivision of Pilipiṅkā in the district of Rājagṛiha'.

This Pilipiṅkā is evidently identical with the one mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of Dēvapāladēva.[3]

S. I, 648, 806 (Pl. V, *g*).

Circular area enclosed in three concentric border lines, the middle one being a dotted one, the innermost one decorated with flowers. Right hand top broken. It is pierced with a hole. The upper-field has two fat males seated on each side of a tree, both holding a rosary in the right hand, their heads have an ornamental aura, the figure on the left has a *maṅgalakalaśa* in the left hand. The object held in the left hand of the other figure is broken off. The lower field under three horizontal lines gives *Rājagṛiha-Chāturvaidya*[4] 'Of the Chāturvēda (community) (-Chaube) of Rājagṛiha'.

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[1] [I read *Sapta-raya.*—Ed.]
[2] [Reading may be *Pilipinchchhā.*—Ed.]
[3] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 318.
[4] [Reading on this and the next seal is *Rājagṛihē chāturvidya.*—Ed.]

S. I, 648.

Complete specimen from a different die and deeper impression Reddish burnt clay. S. I, 806 is yellow.

S. I, 799, 829 (Pl. V, *h*).

*Gayā.*—Upper field has a seated figure of a goddess, flanked by a tree, crescent to right. Lower field has legend in two lines written under a serpent :—

1 Gayā-vishay-ādhi-
2 karaṇasya.

A hole passes right through it, evidently it was meant for a string.

S. I, 825.

Circular, reddish baked piece with a thin groove on back. Upper half occupied by fire altar ; the lower half under two lines has

Gayā-vishayasya.

(The shape of *ya* is noteworthy.)

S. I, 799.

Practically same as S. I, 829, shows the sun at the right upper corner, has no hole at the back but shows a groove for a string.

S. I, 827.

Upper field, above two straight lines and one wavy line shows several quadrangular marks and an impression of a smaller circular seal.

Lower field, under two lines in bold relief in one line gives *Gay-ādhishṭhānasya* in about the 7th century script. The legend on the smaller seal has five *aksharas* of which the first two seem to read *satya* and the last is certainly *sha*. The penultimate letter might be read as *vē*. Can the remaining letters be read as *ndra* ? In that case the legend would be *Satyēndravēsha°*. The seal can be of the chief officer of the Court of Justice at Gayā whose name is given in it.

S. 9, R. 15.

Left half of yellowish, roundish piece showing palm-leaf impression and groove at the back. The obverse has right half of a divine female figure, with symbols. Under the right leg the legend running

1 (A)ghōrīya[1]dīpa(?)......
2 ṇa-mudr=ēyam.

This is the seal of.................. ṇa of........Aghōra. Apparently it belonged to the Aghōra cult and is interesting. Aghōra and Vajrayāna were the anti-climax of the degenerate form of Mahāyāna and the cause of its degradation. The use of the word *mudrā* is also noteworthy.

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[1] [I am not certain of this reading.—Ed.]

S. 9, R. 79 (Pl. V, *i*).

Die with one small hole on two sides, yellow clay, burnt (or sun-dried ?) and roundish. In the upper field there is an ornamental design with candle at the middle. Below this, two-lined legend, in negative

1 Suchaṇḍādakīya[1]-
2 grāma-mudr=ēyam.

This find of a die is important. It cannot prove that the place where it was unearthed was not Nālandā. Suchaṇḍādakīya might have been a village under the jurisdiction of Nālandā. It would show that villages had also their distinctive seals.

S. I, 790 (Pl. V, *j*).

Upper half shows a *liṅga* above two lines with a female worshipper on each side and crescent at the top. The lower half gives the legend in two lines.

1 Sōṇ-āntarāla-vishayē
2 adhikaraṇasya

'Of the Court of Justice in the district (vishaya) of the Sōṇa-*doab*'. The Sōna, we know is a large tributary of the Ganges. The seal would show that there was a district called after it about the 8th century A.D.

S. I, 798 and 804.

Upper field, Gajalakshmī standing on lotus, small figure shown sitting on both sides. The legend written below reads :—

1 Magadha-bhuktau Kumārāmāty-ā-
2 dhikaraṇasya

S. I, 813, 817, 808, 691, etc. (Pl. V, *k*).

Two concentric circles with dots in the intervening space enclose both the fields. The upper field gives Gajalakshmī standing on a lotus and flanked by a seated male figure above whom stands an elephant with his trunk raised and possibly holding a lotus to offer to the goddess. The lower field gives the legend :—

1 Magadha-bhuktau Kumārāmātya-
2 adhikaraṇasya.

It is different from 798 and 804 in that there is no *sandhi* in °*amātya* and the following *adhi*° and that the figures are differently shaped.

S. I, 832.

Identical with S. I, 817 except in details of figures and shape.

S. I, 674.

Here Lakshmī stands in the upper field. An elephant on each side of her head is showering water. Her right hand is on a money bag or box and her

[1] [Reading is *Suvarṇṇ[ō]dakīya*.—Ed.]

left hand is raised to shoulder and holds a lotus (?). On each side is shown a standing male figure guarding a money bag or box kept at the side of the goddess. Below one thick horizontal line :—

1 Magadha-bhuktau Kumārā-
2 māty-ādhikaraṇa[sya].

S. I, 784 (Pl. V, *l*).

Oval area in one line. Grooves at back. Lakshmī seated above two horizontal lines, at each side of her head stands an elephant, apparently in the act of offering lotus, on each side stands a well-built man. The left hand of the figure on the right side and the right hand of the figure on the left side are shown above what seems to stand for some vessel, box of riches on the right side perhaps. Lakshmī is holding the lid by her thumb and the fore-finger on the right side, her left hand raised to shoulder holds a conch. The lower field gives in one line.

Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya.

The seal is yellowish and has a broad hole at the bottom going to the middle.

S. I, 821 (Pl. VI, *a*).

*Śrāvasti.*—Gajalakshmī in the upper field and the following legend in the lower field written below two lines :—

1 Śrāvasti-bhuktau na-
2 y-ādhikaraṇasya.

'Of the Sub-Divisional Court of Law in the Śrāvasti-Division.' *Naya* might have been a sub-division of the *bhukti* or the larger division.

S. I, 812.

Circular area in one raised round line, above one horizontal line, a lotus-seat on which Lakshmī is seated cross-legged ; right hand on right knee ; left hand raised to shoulder holds lotus ; Lakshmī is flanked by a curiously-shaped elephant offering lotus held in trunk. Below we have

1 Ninna(?)vishay-ā
2 dhikaraṇasya

'Of the District Court of Ninna (?)'. The seal is baked and has a large hole piercing it right through.

S. I, 797 (Pl. VI, *b*).

Upper field, Gajalakshmī standing in centre on a lotus(?) with an elephant and a *maṅgala-kalaśa* on each side. Lower field divided by one straight line has a legend of two lines reading :—

1 Nagara-bhuktau Kumārāmāty-ādhi-
2 karaṇasya.

S. I, 816.

Ditto —though from a different die. The *aksharas* of the legend are smaller and figures differ in minor details.

S. I, 810.

Ditto. It has two lines dividing the fields. The legend is written in smaller letters and the face is sunken. The back has a through hole for passing a string.

S. I, 359, S. I, 803 and S. I, 658, 838, *etc.*

Area enclosed by a circle; two horizontal lines; above which Lakshmī, clad in *sari*, stands flanked by a seated figure on each side whose head is elephantine and the trunk holding a vessel to pour water on the goddess, and a *kalaśa* on each side and below the legend

1 Nagara-bhuktau Kumārāmāty-ādhi-
2 karaṇasya.

S. I, 669 and 785.

Circular area enclosed in one circle, Gajalakshmī seated on lotus flanked by an elephant offering a lotus held in the trunk. One horizontal line dividing the two fields. The lower field gives the following legend written below in one line

Dharmma-ādhikaraṇasya.

S. I, 644 (Pl. VI, *c*).

Rectangular yellow piece of clay. Legend in two lines:—

1 Śrī-Śīlāditya-
2 Dharmm-ādhikaraṇ[ē].

S. I, 938.

Black, oblong piece, two impressions, one gives:—

Mahābhāṇḍāri-
ka-śrī-Bhadrabhā[nōḥ]

'Of the illustrious Bhadrabhānu the great treasurer.' The other which is written at the top reads

Bhaṭṭa-śrīka.

S. I, 800 (Pl. VI, *d*).

Circular area in one border line, haloed goddess, probably Durgā, seated on a sitting lion, with right hand stretched in *abhaya* or *vara* pose and left hand holding trident, one tree on each side. Below goddess in two lines:—

1 Dakshiṇa-mērōḥ[1] paśchima-skandhē
2 sapradhāna-vishayasya.

'Of the district with the Chief Officer in the Western division of the Southern Mēru (?)'—the meaning of *mēru* and *skandha* is obscure.

S. I, 824 (Pl. VI, *e*).

Oval area in one border line; upper field occupied by a male corpulent figure seated in *padmāsana* under an arch, holding a circular object (*chakra*) in

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[1] [Reading is *Dakshiṇa-girau*.—Ed.]

the right and a long necked vessel in the left hand; under two horizontal lines, the legend :—

1 Kṛimilā-vishayē Kavā(or chā)la-
2 grāmē vishaya-mahatta-
3 ma-Narasvāmina[ḥ*].

'In the district of Kṛimilā,[1] in the village of Kavāla, of the Mahattama Narasvāmin.'

S. I, 346 and 802 (Pl. VI, *f*).

Two clay seals, one red and the other yellowish—both having at the back rectangular depression with a groove at the middle. The obverse of both is irregular in shape, is divided in two fields by two horizontal lines. In the upper field there is a *stūpa* which is placed on a rectangular base or pedestal and has a tree to its right and some symbol to its left. The latter symbol looks like a large shaven head with two circular eyes. In the lower field there is one line legend reading *Krimilā-vishayē sapradhānasya*—the final *ya* is put in the whole length by way of ornamentation. In the district of Krimilā 'with the *Pradhāna*'. *Sa* requires some subject. Perhaps 'assembly or community with its chief' is meant.

The back shows another seal. Perhaps two seals were used when some document was despatched.

S. I, 718.

*Village seal.*—A fragment of baked clay, the upper portion has a circular impression, the area being enclosed in two raised lines with dots within them. The upper field has tree on a platform under which there is a thick horizontal line below which there is a legend reading

[Shā]kavē[ṇṇa]ka (?)-grāmasya.

'Of Shākavēṇṇaka ? village.' The name of the village is not clear. Underneath there is another impression whose lower portion is mostly gone excepting a part of two horizontal lines and a trace of some lettering. The upper field of this impression is intact and shows two foot-prints.

S. 9, R. 18.

*Seal of a police station.*—Circular clay seal, main area occupied by the representation of standing Mahishamardinī, four armed, holding sword, trident, shield and bell. The legend round her is not distinct, but might be read as

......dikāri-grāmē
Vasishṭha-sthānasya.

*i.e.* 'Of the police station Vasishṭha in the village of ......dikāri'.

S. I, 801 (Pl. VI, *h*).

*Miscellaneous.*—Circular (but elongated at top) area in one border line. Above two horizontal lines, a male is seated on lotus with heavy ear-rings

[1] Kṛimilā is mentioned in the Monghyr grant. See Banerjee's *Pālas*, p. 58.

showing three faces, might be Brahmā, holding rosary in right and *maṅgala-pātra* in left hand; below is the legend:—

1 Praksha (?) Kalpāka[1]
2 Traividya-Brāhmaṇa.

S. I, 830.

Oval area in two lines, damaged in the middle. Above two horizontal lines, a seated corpulent male; his right hand probably holds a rosary. The left hand has a hubble-bubble like object. The legend below shows

......kāgrahāra..

It is baked and has a hole going from one end to the other for passing a string.

S. I, 673 (Pl. VI, *i*).

An oval piece of baked clay with seven different impressions of which three are very indistinct. The three in the middle row, one above the other, are circular, the lowermost is the largest and in the upper field it shows a large tree with a Persian (?) fire altar to the right and a box (or *liṅga*) to the left, below two lines:

Rāja Kēśyānām (?).[2]

(Can we read *Śrī-Rājavaiśyānām* instead ?)

The middle impression shows the sun to the right, a tree to the left and between these two symbols a goddess seated on lotus with a child on her left knee and serpent by the side. The legend below runs—

......grahārē

The impression at the top has a goddess with a child on the lap and a serpent (?) on each side. The oval impression to the extreme left shows a large shady tree with a symbol to right which may stand for a *liṅga* or *stūpa* ? Below two lines there is a legend which seems to read

Varāshakē

but its meaning is not clear—might be a village name.[3]

S. I, 691 (Pl. VII, *a*).

Oval baked clay seal with large hole passing through both ends. Above thick ornamental line a corpulent male divine figure probably of Brahmā on lotus-seat, three faces and halo are clear. The figure has two arms, in the right hand we see a rosary, in the left a sort of spouted vessel or hubble-bubble. In the lower field there is a legend in two lines which seems to read

1 Śrīman-Navaka[rmmaṭhānām (?)]
2 Traividyasya.

(Reduplication of *m* is noteworthy.)

[1] [To me reading seems to be *Mrakshakalpakē*.—Ed.]
[2] [The last letter is certainly *la*.—Ed.]
[3] [A fourth impression on this seal seems to read *Chundīrak-āgrahārasya*.—Ed.]

'Of the *Trivēdī* (*Traividya*) of the famous *Nava-karmaṭhas*,[1] those who were clever in superintending.' The hole shows impressions of coarse cloth which was used for tying the seal.

S. I, 782 (Pl. VII, *b*).

Somewhat circular seal, with a corpulent male sitting on a lotus above two horizontal lines, below which there is one-lined legend reading :—

[Vaṇṭāgra]vāṭak-āgrahāra-Traividya[sya]

'The Traividya of the agrahāra of Vaṇṭāgravāṭaka (?)' The back has a depression meant for putting in something. These *agrahāra* seals seem to be *Brahamanical* and have Brahmanical symbols and names on them.

S. I, 350 (Pl. VII, *c*).

Circular area, in two lines, the inner space of which is dotted. Above two horizontal lines a male figure with protuberant abdomen sits on a lotus-seat, has a heavy, ear-ring ; crescent to right, and Sūrya to left ; his right hand has a rosary and the left hand a narrow necked spouted vessel or *maṅgala-kalaśa* below—

1 Bhallātavāṭak-āgrahārē[śa]-
2 Śrīmat-Traividyasya

'Of the illustrious Traividya, the chief of the *agrahāra* of Bhallātavāṭaka.[2] Broken at the back, hole pierces both the ends.

S. I, 834.

Circular area, upper field has a male with protuberant abdomen, rosary in right and spouted narrow necked vessel in left hand, lower field below a line gives

1 . . . . . . grāma-Trai-
2 vidyasya

S. I, 352 (Pl. IV, *e*).

Oblong piece with four impressions. The upper one shows a worn squatting figure above a thick line, below which is the legend in one line '*Vēraṇāvatāy-āgrahārasya*'. The three small impressions are indistinct.

S. I, 791 (Pl. IV, *f*).

Oblong, yellowish piece ; upper part has a corpulent male seated cross-legged under canopy of serpent hoods with *liṅga* having a tree to left. On the *liṅga* there is a symbol which either represents a trident or an umbrella. Or it might be a *stūpa*.

The legend reads

1 Śrī-Purik-āgrahārē
2 Śrīmat-Traividyasya.

S. I, 917.

Clay seal, yellowish, prolate, back marked with thin groove, showing impression of a palm leaf possibly, face sunk and divided into two parts both of which

[1] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 30.
[2] Central Circle Report, 1917-18, p. 45 wrongly gives *Nallabhavataka*.

are contained in an oblong thin raised line. The upper portion is occupied by a seated corpulent male figure whose left hand is raised towards the shoulder and holds probably a torch (of knowledge ?) and the right hand is extended near the knee. The feet are crossed and lying on two straight lines under which there is a legend of two lines of which the 2nd is worn and the first reads :—

1 Mēshaka(?)-āgrahārē-
2 ............ sya.

S. I, 356.

Somewhat circular, depressed at bottom side, area with 7 impressions showing somewhat identical heads.

## Personal Seals.

S. I, 367.

Broken piece, red baked clay with seven deeply sunk impressions. Each legend reads :

1 Udayēndra-
2 Kaviḥ

'The poet Udayēndra'.

S. I, 296.

Thin red baked circular piece of clay with five impressions, the central and the one on the left reads *Jñānaśrīmitrasya*. The other three are not clear.

S. I, 263.

Small circular black piece of clay with the ligend *Bāṇa* [*Vā*(*bā*)*la*]*mitraḥ*[1] within two symbols.

S. I, 301.

Small yellow piece giving the name of *Sīhasēna* and having a groove on the back.

S. I, 278.

Black clay, fragmentary, showing two impressions, one seems to read

1 Amara-
2 sēnasya (?)

S. I, 262.

Fragmentary black clay seal with two indistinct impressions.

S. I, 398.

Small, black clay seal. The legend reads *Vijayaḥ* and is written under a symbol.

S. I, 171.

The legend may be *Srī-Kumāra*[*sēna*]

S. I, 687 (Pl. VII, *d*).

A triangular plain piece of reddish baked clay with the legend embossed in one line :

Srī-Śakrāyudhadēva.

[1] [I read Vō(Bō)dhi[siddha].—Ed.]

S. I, 687.

Somewhat triangular piece, plain and slightly broken at bottom. At top portion in one line there is the legend reading:

Śrī-Yaśaḥpāladēvaḥ.

'The illustrious Yaśaḥpāladēva.'

Does it belong to the Pāla chief of that name?

S. 9, R. 15 (Pl. VII, *e*).

A triangular plain piece of unburnt black clay, damaged at bottom, pierced right through from top to bottom to pass a string. One-lined legend, in sunken rectangular area reading

Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladēvasya.

and written in late Dēvanāgarī script. This might be the seal of the Pāla chief of that name.

S. I, 269.

Rectangular impression the legend on which may read *Śrī Vīrasēnataḥ* (?) 'From the illustrious Vīrasēna.' This legend is peculiar and unique for in place of *sya* (genetive singular) it uses *taḥ* (abl. singular).

S. I, 786.

Oval reddish seal, sunk and grooved at back. Obverse mostly occupied by a corpulent male figure on a *chowki* (?) with long ears and turban (?), the right hand is spread in *vitarka* (?) *mudrā*, the left hand, which is raised holds a conch (?), the legend below the figure reads:

'*Ti*(*Tri*)*pā*(*bhā*)*shik-ā* (?) *grahārasya*'

'Of the Tipāshik-āgrahāra'. (Can we read *Tri-bhāshikā*—the *agrahāra* where three *bhāshās* were taught?)

S. 9, R. 18.

Circular area, upper field occupied by a standing goddess on a lion (?); eight-armed, holding different cognizances, sword, arrow, *etc.* The legend in one line —

Nandīvanakīya.

Several clay seals have been excavated from Monastery No. 9. They are all numbered S. 9, R. 16 and S. 9, R. 91. Some of them are plain; others show symbols of different kinds. The plain ones give one name in the legend written on them. These are their legends:—

1. Śrī-Vō(Bō)dhimitraḥ.
2. Śrī-Vōvvēkaḥ.
3. Sīhasēnaḥ (Several specimens; some with and others without designs from S. I and S. IA).
4. Chandradattaḥ.
5. Dharaguptaḥ (Pl. VII, *f*).
6. Chandra(or Chaṇḍa)pākaḥ. [*Chandapākaḥ.*—Ed.]

7. Durgaśaraṇaḥ.
8. Śrīmat-Sīyādēvyāḥ.
9. Dīpaṅkarasēnaḥ. [*Dīpaṅkarajñāna.*—Ed.]
10. Śakrasēnaḥ.
11. [Nārā]yaṇapālitaḥ. [*Stha Yakshapālaḥ.*—Ed.]
12. Śrī-Dharmmasēnasya.
13. Śrī-Kōkkākaḥ.
14. Śrī-Svachchhabhadēvaḥ (in a round line and *Śrī-Dēva[druha]sya* below, forming a separate impression). [*Śrī-Svachchhahṛidayaḥ* and *Śrī-Dēvadu[ha]sya.*—Ed.]
15. Śrī-Dēvapāladēvasya (Pl. VII, *g*).
16. Chandragupta[ḥ].
17. Apramādaḥ.
18. Jñāna[mitra].
19. Chandraguptaḥ and Svarbhānudēvaḥ[1].
20. Vāsēkasya.
21. Yakshapālita.
22. Guṇākaraśīlasya.
23. Vikasitaḥ.
24. Nītipālaḥ [*Yatipālaḥ.*—Ed.]
25. Two impressions, one gives Śrī-Dharmmaśrīvarmmā and the other, Śrī-Pataṅgaḥ.
26. Śrī-Vigrahavāraḥ (or vīraḥ) [*Śrī-Vigrahatāraḥ.*—Ed.]
27. Vipulākaraprabhasya.
28. Śrī-Vajravēśasya [*Śrī-Vajrarē[kha]sya.*—Ed.]
29. Ārya[Saṅghasya ?] (Conjectural).
30. Su[vinīta]-Śrīprabhasya.
31. ......Bārasya (S. 9, R. 16) [*Kumārasya.*—Ed.]
32. Kamaladēvaḥ.
33. Bhadrakīrtti[ḥ].
34. Ratnākaraya[śaḥ].
35. Śrī-Saṅghamitraḥ.
36. Kavimitraḥ.
37. [Tā]rābalaḥ.
38. Saṅghapālita.
39. Kēdāradēvasya ?
40. Stha Bhānudēvasya (*Stha* stands for *Sthavira*).
41. Two impressions Stha Mañjukīrtti [*Stha* [*Maṁju*]*śrī-kīrtti.*—Ed.] and Maitrīdēvaḥ ?
42. Two impressions, one gives
    1 Buddhānu-
    2 ....yaḥ and the other.
    [Ś]aṭhatrāsaḥ [*Haṭha°.*—Ed.]

[1] [This name I read as *Stha Bhānudēvasya.*—Ed.]

43. Śrīmad-Bhāsavishṇōḥ.
44. Śrī-Prajñānami[trasya].
45. Narāśrayaḥ (?)
46. Two impressions reading; Śivaśarmaṇaḥ.
47. Three impressions, one shows lower portion of a figure seated cross-legged on a lotus, the other has Janaśrīmitraḥ [*Jinaśrīmitra.*—Ed.]; the third is indistinct.
48. [Puru]shōttamasya (S. 9, R. 16).
49. Several impressions showing Buddha in *Kṛichchhratapas* attitude and a legend which seems to read Mārāriḥ.
50. Triangular piece of sun-dried black clay with the legend: Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladēvasya (S. 9, R. 15).
    (Is he Nārāyaṇapāladēva, the Pāla King?).
51. Kumārasēnasya (S. 9, R. 15).
52. Samudra[sya] (S. IA, 422).
53. Dhīragupta (S. IA, 419).
54. ..lēndrayasaḥ (Śailēndra° ?)
55. Buddhava—.
56. Guṇākara[ḥ] (S. 9, R. 53).
57. Śubhākaradēvaḥ (S. 9, R. 53) (Pl. VII, *h*).
58. Śrī-Samaradhīraḥ (R. 91) [*Śrī-Samaratāraḥ.*—Ed.]
59. Śubha (or Śruta) dēvaḥ or sēnaḥ? (S. 9, R. 91).
60. Mānāryamānaralōkavīraḥ (Aryamā in self respect—a world hero) (S. 9, R. 91).
    [[Mārārya ?] Māralōka[vīra].—Ed.]
61. Deeply sunk area; two-lined legend—
    Śrī-Dharmmapādānu-
    Guṇasā(śā)nti.

The following seals were excavated from Site I:—

62. Dhavalanāgaśrī (1009); several specimens.
63. Śrī-Śakrāyudhadēvaḥ (S. I, 680).
64. Jivatrātaḥ (994) [*Jinatrātaḥ.*—Ed.]
65. Dāmodaradēva (793).
66. Śrī-Yakshapāli[taḥ*] (1017).
67. Śrī-Yaśōvarmmadēvaḥ (681) (Pl. VII, *i*). (Is he the King spoken of in the stone inscription?)
68. Śrī-Vō(Bō)[dh]imitrasya (999).
69. Śrī-Saṅghamitraḥ (1014).
70. Rākāmatiḥ (995) [*Chārumatēḥ*—Ed.]
71. Viśēshabhānōḥ (792).
72. Three impressions: one gives
    Śrī-Dēvakīrttiḥ, the other Sudarśanāśrayaḥ and the third Harsha (or Bhaṭṭa)putra-Jasupālaḥ (1048). [I read the third as *Bhaṭṭaputra Ja[ya]pāla.*—Ed.]
73. Śrīmārasiṅghaḥ (599) [*Kumāra*°.—Ed.]

74. Śrī-Bōdhimitraḥ (99).
75. Bhadrasiṅgha (1017).
76. Five impressions on one circular piece, one gives Guṇākarabhadra, the other Śrīmitraḥ, the third Janaśrīmitraḥ (910 A). [The legends are same as in No. 87 below.—Ed.]
77. Two impressions. Legends not clear, look like *Lahuvadi* and *Viraḥ* (920).
78. V[i]puladēva, and Supraṁśuḥ (978) [The second name may be *Dipaṅka[ra*]*.—Ed.]
79. Ma[hā]varakaraḥ (993).
80. Rishi (677).
81. Saṅkarshakasya (988).
82. Śrīmaitrīsiṁhasya (1047).
83. Buddhapāla (1018).
84. [Mē]nakasya (1001).
85. Lōkavīrapālitasya in a rectangle (1047) [*Lōkēśvara*°.—Ed.]
86. Two impressions, the upper one gives Tārā[śri]ta ? and the lower one pūjakasya. Perhaps both make up one legend (*Tārāśritapūjakasya*), the adorer of the devotees of Tārā) (1017).
87. Five impressions on one piece; one gives Jinaśrīmitrasya, the other Dānadēvasya, the third Stha Bhānudēvasya, the fourth Guṇākarabhadra. The fifth is faint. (910) [Both the second and third read *Bhānudēvasya*.—Ed.]
88. Two impressions on one elongated piece. Legend not clear, might be Baliyaśaḥ. (1900) [Legend appears to be *Va*(*Ba*)*lināga*. There are several other specimens on which the name clearly reads Dhavalanāgasya.—Ed.]
89. Śrī-Ādityasēna (796).
90. Bhaṭṭaputra-Dhavalakaḥ (1012 and 1017).
91. Śrī-Ijjādēvī (SI, 701 A) (Pl. VII, *j*).

### Clay seals with some symbols and designs.

*All were excavated from Site No.* ö.

1. Dharmmatrātaḥ with conch and floral design.
2. Upaśāntasya with conch and floral design.
3. Dharmmarakshitasya with conch and floral design.
4. Stha Bhānudēvasya with conch and floral design.
5. Sihadēvasya in a rectangle above a floral design.
6. Rāhulasya between floral designs.
7. Mārāriśaraṇaḥ between pot and flower design and a scroll.
8. Kamalaśrīprabhaḥ between two symbols.
9. Nirvvāṇaśāntiḥ with ornamental designs.
10. Sujñātasya (or Sujjātasya) with a conch below.
11. Akuṭilāśayaḥ between two symbols.

12. Vu(Bu)ddhatrātaḥ between two symbols.
13. Śiladānā. Unless the name is *Śīlada* and the legend is in gen. pl. °*dānām*, the seal is noteworthy, for no other seal of a woman is yet found from the site. [The reading is *Śīlabhān*[*ō*]; only the top stroke of medial *ō* is missing. It does not record the name of a woman.—Ed.]
14. Nārāyaṇaḥ below a flower.
15. Jayaghōshaḥ above a flower and below a trident.
16. Vu(Bu)ddhamitraḥ under a conch and above a flower.
17. Jiṇa(na)rakshitasya under a conch.
18. Nāga[śikhaḥ] under a flower.
19. Āryaśrīprabhasya between two symbols.
20. Dharmmadēva below a conch and above some symbol.
21. Nāgasēṇaḥ below a flower.
22. Dēvarakshitasya with a snake and a symbol.
23. Ahirakshitasya between sun and conch.
24. Harshasi[ṅgha]sya and a floral design.
25. There are four impressions, one gives [Mā]ri[ka]va(ba)laḥ between two symbols, two Puṇḍarīkaḥ, and another, Vivēkasya[*Dhanai*(or *nē*)-*kasya*.—Ed.] Conch and other symbols are also to be seen.
26. Suvā(bā)laghōshasya and some symbol.
27. Dharmmasiddhi[ḥ] between two symbols.
28. Vēṇuvanaguptaḥ. (Vēṇuvana is well known in the Buddhist literature.) [I read as *Vairōchanaguptaḥ*.—Ed.]
29. Tathāgataḥ above a *triratna* symbol.
30. Sthānikasya. Of the *Sthānika* or Police-officer taking *sthāna*=thānā.
31. Broken piece, right side gives Śrīprabhasya and some floral designs.
32. Kamalaśrīprabhaḥ between flowers.
33. Saṅghasēnaḥ under a conch.
34. Varaguptaḥ under a flower and scrolls.
35. Harshadēvaḥ and flower.
36. Stha Mañjuśrīkīrttiḥ below a conch. Three specimens.
37. Kēsh(ś)avapālitaḥ and conch (S. 9, R. 16). [I read *Stha. Yakshapālita*.—Ed.]
38. Buddha[mi]traḥ between two symbols (S. I, R. 173)
39. Si[ddha]guptasya between two symbols (S. I, R. 173).
40. The piece has two impressions, one gives two symbols and Nirvvāṇa-śānti and the other Śrīsvāminaḥ. [The second I read as *Śrī-Sāman*[*t*]*aḥ*.—Ed.]
41. Stha Rāhulamatē[ḥ] and symbols (S. 9, R. 16 and S. 3, R. 260).
42. Legend not distinct, might be Sumatiśrīguptaḥ? Two symbols.
43. Śrī-Saṅghaguptaḥ? under a flower.
44. Vīrasiṅghaḥ, conch and flower (S. I A, No. 309). [Dhīrasiṅghaḥ.—Ed.]
45. Divākaragarbha, conch and flower (S. I. A, No. 386).
46. Stha Guṇākarēndrabōdhiḥ, conch and flower (S. I. A, No. 348).

47. Rākāsridhana (S. I A, 385). (Reading Rākā is conjectural).
48. Three impressions on an irregular piece. One gives Śrī-Prajñāpāda-trētāśaraṇaḥ [*Śrī-Prajñāpāramitāśaraṇaḥ.*—Ed.], the other Stha Bhānudēvasya, between two symbols, and the third under a conch some indistinct name of a *Sthavira* (S. 9, R. 53).
49. Reddish clay piece with nine different impressions. One reads Pramō-da[sēna], another Buddhaśāntiḥ.
50. Reddish clay piece with nine or ten different impressions ; one gives Su(Śu)-bhamitraḥ, the other Śīlabhānō[ḥ], the third, Kalyāṇadēvaḥ, the fourth Kumārārka-kāntiḥ, the fifth, Sarvvajaṇē(nē)śaḥ. Several persons must have used one piece of clay for their seals (S. 9, R. 92). [I read the fourth as *Kumārēndra*°, the fifth as *Sarvvajñaghōsa*(*sha*) and the sixth as *Vidyākarasiṅgha.*—Ed.]

The following seals are from Site I. They have symbols as well as legends on them :—

51. Footprints or *pādukā* with serpent to the right and a symbol to the left. Legend below two horizontal lines—

    Śrīmad-Indrarājadēva (783) (Pl. VII, *k*).
52. Śrī-Kallaṭa under a flower (1004).
53. Śrī-Durllabharāja and trident (898) (Pl. VII, *l*).
54. Dharmmaghōsha with conch and flower (1000).
55. Sujñātasya with conch and flower (997).
56. Two impressions, one reading Tārābalaḥ between two flowers ; the other not clear (1015).
57. Five impressions on one piece, one gives Śrī-Maṁjuśrīdēva, the other, Sucharitasiṅghaḥ, the third Śāmaguptaḥ, above floral designs (1047).
58. Dharmmadēvaḥ with conch and scroll ; two specimens (1017).
59. Mūlanavakarmma between conch and flower. May be an official seal (1011). Two seals.
60. Tathāgatakīrtti with some symbols (1017).
61. Stha [Dā]nava—with symbols (1047).
62. Two seals with three impressions on each, two read Siddhadēvaḥ ; third not distinct (1019).
63. Śrī-Śūravi..Karma (992), [*Śrī-Śūravinava*[*karmma*]—Ed.]
64. Śrī-Kṛitavīryya with bull above (844).
65. Maitrīśīlaḥ with some designs (926).
66. *Stūpa* (or *liṅga*) with tree, legend not clear, seems to read like Avi-nāktasya ?
67. Śrī-Vachhasa below a conch (847).
68. Three impressions on one piece ; one reads Bhaṭṭaputrānēkasya, the other, Harshakasya, and the third, not clear (938).
69. Śrī-Kamalaprakāśakaḥ under a symbol (1023).
70. Dharmmaghōsha under some indistinct symbol (1017).
71. Jalasamara ? and a conch. Two specimens (1017).

72. Black clay seal with indistinct legend (1017).
73. Śrī-Prakāś[āditya] and a bull (835).
74. Śri-Saṅ[gha ?]rāmasya ? (822). The upper field has a lion above two lines. [Reading seems to be *Śrī-Sārasaṅgha.*—Ed.]
75. Dīpaṅka[ra-gu]ptaḥ (S. 9, R. 16). Below floral design.

## Royal Seals.

### Seals of the Gupta Kings.

In all there are twenty-six Gupta seals of which only one is entire except for its reverse side which is largely damaged. The obverse is oval and a thin line goes round it enclosing the legend and the device. The upper field is occupied by the figure of Garuḍa carved in high relief and perching on a rod facing front with expanded plumage, his neck being adorned by a snake garland; his head is human, his forehead has a pointed *Vaishṇavite* mark and he is wearing a wig round the head. To the right we see the sun and to the left the crescent. The seal resembles that from Bhitari. I may here point out that the names of the queens of Puragupta and of Narasiṁha-gupta have been wrongly read as Vatsadēvī and Lakshmīdēvī in the legend on the Bhitari seal. The seal in view would show that they are Vainyadēvī[1] and Mitradēvī. The fragments numbered S. 1, 849, 169 and 855 (B) lead us to the same conclusion. So does the seal marked S. I, 779. These specimens are specially valuable in that they give us the correct names of two Gupta queens which were not known before.

### S. I, Reg. No. 660 (Pl. VIII, *a*).

*Seal of Budhagupta.*—Elliptical, raised border, nearly one half of the seal broken and lost; proper left showing full face and the left side of the plumage of the man-bird, Garuḍa, above two straight lines below which comes the legend. The back shows half of the groove and the impression of a cloth. The preserved legend reads:—

1 ......Śrī-gupta-prapautrasya Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtka-
2 [cha-pautrasya Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-putrasya, Lichchhavi*]-dauhitrasya Mahādēvyāṁ Kumāradēvyām=utpanna-
3 [sya Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptasya putras=tat-pari*]gṛihītō Mahā-dēvyāṁ Dattadēvyām=utpannaḥ
4 [svyayam-apratirathaḥ parama-bhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī*]-Chandra-guptas=tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ
5 [Mahādēvyāṁ Dhruvadēvyām=utpannaḥ Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhi-rāja*]-śrī-Kumāraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ā-
6 ............ hārājādhirā[ja] srī-Pura[gu]ptas=tasya putra-
7 ........ Mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ
8 ........**Budhaguptaḥ**

[1] [See p. 65, note 2 below.—Ed.]

S. I, 650; 687 (Pl. VIII, *b-c*).

*Seal of Narsiṁhagupta.*—This is a fragmentary seal in reddish baked clay. The accompanying plate will replace the description of it. The legend is written in minute Gupta letters and reads—

Line 1 ....[1][vyā]m=apratirathasya Mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-pra[pau]ttrasya Mahārāja[śrī]-Ghaṭōtkacha-[pau]-

Line 2 .... ja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya [Li]chchhavi-dauhi[tra]sya [Mahādēvyāṁ] Kumāradēvyām=utpanna-

Line 3 .... ja-śrī-Samudraguptasya puttras=tat-pa-[ri]gṛih[ī]t[ō] Mahādēvyān=Dattadēvyām=utpanna-

Line 4 .... [ḥ para]ma-Bhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānu-

Line 5 .... [Dhruva]dēvyām=utpannō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pā-

Line 6 .... [hādē]vyām=Anantadēvyām=utpa[nnaḥ] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Puraguptas=tasya pu-

Line 7 ...... Mahādēvyāṁ śrī-Vainya[2]dēvyām=utpanna[ḥ] parama-bhāga-

Line 8 ...... ja- śrī-**Narasiṁhagupta[ḥ]**

The fragment marked S. I, 687 is also a part of the seal of the same Gupta king. But the legend on it is not so clear. Nor it is so long. This fragment also forms a part of the proper left side. It is more red and shows a deep groove at the back. The effigy of Garuḍa on the upper field is mostly gone, only the ends of the feathers of the left wing and the claw are preserved. Here too the legend consists of eight lines which end like those on the previous specimen. The lines dividing the fields are of different length and the characters in which the legend is written are of different formation. It is evident that these specimens were taken from two different moulds.

S. I, 849, 843 (Pl. VIII, *d-e*).

*Seal of Kumāragupta III.*—This is a large seal of baked clay and darkish in colour. In shape it is identical with the Bhitari seal[3] though smaller in size. Its inner face is circumscribed by an oval line. It is only $4\frac{1}{2}''$ long and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ wide. Other details are rather common. Even the number of lines of the legend is identical. In spite of all these points of similarity they must have been taken from two different dies, for the fifth line is different. In the Bhitari seal it ends in *mahārā*, while here it terminates with *mahā*, the following

[1] Evidently the missing letters read—
L. 1 " Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhētuḥ pṛithi "
L. 2 " ttrasya Mahārājādhirā "
L. 3 " sya Mahārājādhirā "
L. 4 " s=svayañ=ch=āpratiratha "
L. 5 " dhyātō Mahādēvyāṁ "
L. 6 " dānudhyātō Ma "
L. 7 " ttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō "
L. 8 " vatō Mahārājādhirā- "

[2] [The correct reading is *Chandra-*. See *A. S. R.*, 1934-35 p. 63.—Ed.]

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVIII (1889), pp. 84 ff.

*rā* going to the next line. At the same time the letters in the present case are slightly smaller.

Fleet's remarks about the language, the characters, and the orthography of the Bhitari seal apply to this seal as well and I need not dilate on those details here. I may however point out that the two symbols stand for the sun and the moon and not for *chakra* and *śaṅkha*. The sun and the moon are the two witnesses of our actions or *karmas* and to represent them on such documents is very appropriate. The sealing proper is well preserved. The right hand border and the back of the plaque are damaged. The deep groove on the reverse through which the tying rope passed is clear but does not go right through. In S. I, 843 nearly half of the proper right side is gone but the legend is clearer on the whole and makes the reading of the name of the mother of Kumāragupta II quite certain. Fleet[1] read the name as Mahālakshmīdēvī and Hoernle,[2] as Śrīmatīdēvī.[3] The importance of the document lies in its giving us the correct name of the mother of Kumāragupta II. Mitra we know is one of the synonyms of the Solar deity just as Kumāra in Kumāradēvī and Ananta in Anantadēvī are the synonyms of Skanda and Vishṇu respectively.

## Text.

Line 1 Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttu[ḥ] pṛithivyām=apratirathasya Mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya Mahā-

Line 2 rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya Lichchhavi-dauhittrasya Mahā-dēvyāṁ Kumāradēvyām=utpannasya Mahārājādhirāja-

Line 3 [śrī-]Samudraguptasya puttras=tat-parigṛihītō Mahādēvyān=Datta-dēvyām=utpannas=svayaṁ ch=āpratirathaḥ paramabhāga-

Line 4 [vatō] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō Mahādēvyāṁ Dhruvadēvyam=utpannō Mahārā-

Line 5 jādhirāja śrī-Kumāraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pad-ānudhyātō Mahā-dēvyām=Anantadēvyām=utpannō Mahā-

Line 6 rājādhirāja-śrī-Puraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō Mahā-dēvyāṁ Vatsadēvyām=utpannō Mahā-

Line 7 rājādhirāja-śrī-Narasiṁhaguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō Mahādēvyāṁ śrī-Mitradē[vyā]m=utpannaḥ

Line 8 paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Kumāraguptaḥ**

## Text of Bhitari seal.

Line 1 Sarva-rāj-ōchchhēttuḥ pṛithivyām=apratirathasya Mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapautrasya Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya Mahā-

Line 2 rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-putrasya Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya Mahā-dēvyāṁ Kumāradēvyām=utpannasya Mahārājādhirāja-

Line 3 śrī-Samudraguptasya puttras=tat-parigṛihītō Mahādēvyān=Dattadēvyām =utpannas=svayaṁ ch=āpratirathaḥ paramabhāga-

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 225.

[2] J. A. S. B., Vol. LVIII (1889), p. 89.

[3] As in other names there ought to have been an honorific prefix of Śrī before Śrīmatīdēvī. But as there is one Śrī already it might have been left out intentionally.

Line 4 vatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Mahādēvyāṁ Dhruvadēvyām=utpannō Mahārā-

Line 5 jādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Mahādēvyām=Anantadēvyām=utpannō Mahārā-

Line 6 jādhirāja-śrī-Puraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō Mahādēvyāṁ śrī-Vatsadēvyām=utpannō Mahā-

Line 7 rājādhirāja-śrī-Narasiṁhaguptas=tasya putras=tat-pādānudhyātō Mahādēvyāṁ śrīmatī(śrī-Mahālaksmīdē)-

Line 8 vyām=utpannaḥ paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śri-**Kumāraguptaḥ**

S. I, 687 (Pl. VIII, *f*).

*Seal of Vainyagupta.*—A triangular piece of baked red clay from the bottom portion of a seal showing parts of the last four lines with a trace of an *akshara* of the fifth line from the bottom. The legend is written in well executed minute letters in low relief. It does not give any proper name except Vainyagupta.

The preserved portion of the writing reads :

1

2 guptas=tasya putra[s=ta]

3 s=tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-

4 guptasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō Mahādēvyāṁ śrī

5 paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja[ḥ]

śrī-**Vainyaguptaḥ**

A copper-plate inscription of king Vainyagupta, which was found at Gunaighar in the district of Tippera, has already been brought to light.[1] Like the seal under notice, it is written in Sanskrit and the Gupta script. It is dated, the date being given in numerical symbol as well as in words—as '*Varttamān-āshṭāśīty-uttara-śata-saṁvatsarē Pausha-māsasya chaturvviṁśatitama-divasē*' i.e. on the 24th day of the month of Pausha in the current year one hundred and eighty eight. This date which is evidently a Gupta reckoning, corresponds to December, 506 A.D. and, obviously is the date of Vainyagupta also. This was, we know, the time when Northern India was troubled by the Huns whom Yaśōdharman vanquished about this period. The trouble caused by this blood thirsty race of Central Asia told on the Gupta supremacy and caused disruption in the dynasty. The Guptas of Magadha and Bengal must have formed a separate house to which Vainyagupta belonged. The epithet of Mahārājādhirāja applied to him in the Nālandā seal would indicate that he was an independent ruler.

## Maukhari Dynasty.

*Seal of Śarvvavarmman Maukhari.*

### Text.

1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkrānta-kīrttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rāja(jō) varṇṇ-āśrama-vyavasthā-

[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI (1930), pp. 53 ff. and a plate.

2 pana-pravṛitta-chakkraś=Chakkradhara iva prajānām=arttihara[ḥ] śrī-Mahārāja-**Harivarmmā** [||*] Tasya
3 puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhy[ā*]tō **Jayasvāminī**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-Mahārāj-**Ādityava**
4 **rmmā**[||*] Tasya puttras=tat-p(ā*)d-ānuddhyātō **Harshaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-Mahārā-
5 j-**Ēśvaravarmmā** [||*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyāta **Upaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannō
6 Mah(ā*)rājādhirāja-śrī-**Iśānavarmmā** [||*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō **Lakshmīva-**
7 **tī**-bhaṭṭārikā-Mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ=paramamāhēśvarō Ma-
8 hārājādhirāja-śrī-**Śarvvavarmā** Maukhariḥ. [||*][1]

There are several specimens of the Maukhari seals and the pedigree they give is already known—Harivarman; his son Adityavarman from Jayasvāminī, his son Īśvaravarman from Harshaguptā; his son Īśānavarman, from Upaguptā; his son Śarvavarman from Lakshmīvatī.

## Seals of Harshavardhana of Thanesar or Kanauj.

The seals of Harshavardhana are also many in the collection. The whole legend as is written on them I have already published with necessary remarks in the *Epigraphia Indica*[2] and I reproduce it here also for ready reference.

### Text.

1 Symbol [||*] Mahārāja-śrī-**Nara[varddhanas**=tasya] puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyāta-[ḥ*] śrī-**Vajriṇī-**
2 dēvyām=utpannaḥ paramādityabha[ktō Mah]ārāja-śrī-**Rājyavarddhanaḥ** [||*] Tasya puttras=tat-pā-
3 d-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-**Apsarōdēvyām**=utpanna[ḥ para]mādityabhaktō Mahārāja-śrīmad-**Āditya-**
4 **varddhanaḥ** [||*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-[**Mahā**]**sēnaguptā-yām**=u[tpa]nnaḥ chatuḥ-samu-
5 dr-ātikkrānta-kīrttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya]rājō varṇṇāśrama-vyavasthāpana pravṛitta-
6 chakkra ēkachakkraratha iva prajānām=arttiha[raḥ] paramādityabhaktaḥ parama-bhaṭṭāraka-
7 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Prabhākaravarddhanaḥ** [||*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānu-dhyātaḥ atiśayita-
8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām=amala-yaśōmatyāṁ śrī-**Yaśōmatyām**=utpannaḥ para-masaugataḥ Suga-
9 [ta i]va parahit-ānurataḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Rājyavardd-hana**[ḥ ||*] Ta-

[1] For plates *see Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, facing p. 74.
[2] See Vol. XXI, plate facing p. 75.

10 sy=ānujas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramabha[ṭṭā]rikā-Mahādēvī-śrī-**Yaśōma[tyāṁ]** dē-
11 vyām=ēv=ōtpannaḥ paramamā[hē]śvaraḥ Mahēśvara ivasarvva-sa-
12 tv-ānukampakaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Harshaḥ** [||*]

The pedigree given in these seals is Naravardhana; his son Rājyavardhana (I) by Vajriṇīdēvī; his son Ādityavardhana by Apsarōdēvī; his son Prabhākaravardhana by Mahāsēnaguptādēvī, his sons Rājyvardhana (II) and Harsha or Harshavardhana both by Yaśōmatīdēvī. Stress is laid on Harsha's being born of the same mother Yaśōmatīdēvī (*tasyām=ēv=ōtpannaḥ*) who gave birth to Rājyavardhana.

## Prāgjyōtisha seals.

S. I, 362.

*Seal of Bhāskaravarman.*—A fragment from the left lower side of a seal[1] of reddish baked clay giving portions of six lines written in Sanskrit prose and early Nāgarī script. The preserved portion of the legend reads:—

Line 1 ........varmmā śrī-**Yajñavatyā[ṁ]** śrī-
Line 2 ........tāyāṁ śrī-**Nārāyaṇavarmmā** śrī-
Line 3 ........tyāṁ śrī-**Chandramukhavarmmā** śrī-
Line 4 ........rmmā tēna śrī-**Nayanaśōbhāyāṁ**
Line 5 ........**lakshmyāṁ** śrī-**Supratishṭhita-**
Line 6 ........**skaravarmm**=ēti

The gaps in the text have not been filled in. The lettering is similar to the other seals of Prāgjyōtisha and the genealogy is identical with that given in the Nidhānpur Plates[2] of Bhāskaravarman. Nayanaśōbhā for Nayanadēvī is an ordinary variant.

The word *Lakshmyāṁ* in the commencement of the 5th line was possibly preceded by the term *śyāmā* and *Śyāmālakshmī* was an alternative for Śyāmādēvī which occurs in the Nidhānpur plates.

S. I, 687 and S. I, 691 (Pl. IX, *a-b*).

The first seal has been recovered in two fragments belonging to one and the same seal. Excepting a small plain piece in the Upper field and a small portion to the proper right side and also at the bottom which have been broken off and which have carried away several letters of the legend, the seal becomes entire when these two fragments are joined together as is shown by the accompanying photograph. The seal is of baked and yellowish clay. Its upper part is occupied by a standing elephant whose front view is here portrayed in a highly artistic manner though the legs are not realistic. The elephant stands above a thick straight line which separates the lower field taken by the legend

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[1] For a fuller account of the seal, See *J. B. and O. R. S.*, Vols. V, pp. 302 ff. and VI, pp. 151 ff. and Pl.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XII, pp. 73 ff and XIX, pp. 118 ff., etc.

which is mostly preserved. The legend is written in beautiful letters of the northern type and reads as follows:—

1 [Śrī]-man- **Naraka**-tanayō **Bhagadatta-Vajradattānvayō** Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Prāgjyōtishē-

2 [ndraḥ **Pu**]**shyavarmā** tat-putrō Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrī-**Samudravarmā** tasya tanayō **Dattavatyāṁ** [samutpannaḥ*]

3 [Mahā]rājādhirāja-śrī **Va(Ba)lavarmā** tēna jātō dēvyāṁ śrī-**Ratnavatyāṁ** Mahārājādhirā-

4 [ja-śrī-**Ka**]**lyāṇavarmā** śrī-**Gandharvavatyām** śrī-**Gaṇapativarmā** śrī-**Yajñavatyāṁ** śrī-**Mahē-**

5 [**ndravarmā**] dviḥ(s) turagamēdh-ā-harttā śrī-**Suvratāyāṁ** śrī-**Nārāyaṇavarmā** śrī-**Dē**

6 [**vamatyāṁ**[1]] śrī-**Bhūtivarmā** śrī-**Vijñānavatyāṁ** śrī-**Chandramukhavarmā** śrī-**Bhō**

7 [[**gavatyāṁ**] [dvi]r-aśvamēdhayājī śrī-**Sthiravarmā**[2]] tēna śrī-**Nayanaśō**[3]-**bhāyāṁ**

8 [śrī] **Susthi**[**ra**]**varmā** tēna śrī-[**Dhruvalaksmyāṁ**[4]] śrī-**Supratisṭhita-**

9 ...........................[**varm**=ē]ti

S. I, 347 (Pl. IX, *c-d*).

Terracotta plaque, reddish in colour forming the proper right half of a large seal of some king whose name is not preserved. No details of the dynasty to which he belonged are to be found in the preserved portion. In the pedigree, too, no name is fully preserved. Owing to this circumstance it is not possible to assign it to any chief or dynasty. Palæographically it might be assigned to about the 6th century after Christ. The upper field separated by a thick straight line shows, apparently, Vishṇu riding Garuḍa, as can be surmised from the plumage and the claws of the bird and the *gadā* or mace symbol of the deity held in the right upper hand—the symbol in the right lower hand is indistinct but might be a conch or lotus. The legend begins like that on the Maukhari seals and would lead us to think that the seal is a *Maukhari* token.

The legend consists of nine lines of writing, perhaps ten, faint traces of the last line are somewhat discernible. The preserved portion reads:

1 [Chatu]s-samudr-ātikkrānta-kīrtti[ḥ pra][5]...............

2 [śrama][6]-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta-Chakkra[ś=Chakkradhara iva prajānām=artti-][7]

3 [ha]raḥ śrī-Mahārāja-[Lakshma]ṇa[8]-pu...............

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[1] Or °vatyāṁ

[2] Or Sthita°

[3] Or Nayanavattyām

[4] Or °śyāmādēvī

[5] The letter '*pra*' does not form part of any proper name, but is the part of the word '*pratāpa*' which is found on the Maukhari seals.

[6] That '*varṇṇā*' preceded it can be presumed. Cf. Seals of Śarvavarman.

[7] These words are taken from the seal of Śarvavarman.

[8] [To me the reading appears to be *Lavkhāṇa*.—Ed.]

4 [Bhāga]vatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī................

5 [d-ānu]dhyātaḥ Śrīdēvyāṁ **Vittavvadē**................

6 ....[tō] [Ma]hārāja-srī-**Jarā**[1]................

7 [dhyātaḥ*] Śrīdēvyāṁ **Mēlyādē[vyāṁ]**................

8 [gava]tō Mahārajādhirāja................[pu*]

9 ttras=ta[t-pād-ānudhyātaḥ]

10 ................

The names are not fully preserved. The reading Lakshamaṇa (l. 3) is conjectural. Mēlyādēvī is a queer appellation though names like Mēlādēvī or Mēlō are to be met with in the Punjab. Vittāvva(bba) is still more curious. The word Jarā reminds us of the name of *Jarāsandha* of the *Mahābhārata* episode. The dynasty to which this seal belonged might have been of some non-Aryan descent and that will explain these curious names. But it is a mere conjecture.

S. I, 691.

It is a fragment of a seal like the one described above. Portions of some six lines are preserved on it but no full name is to be found in them. In both these specimens **Śrīdēvī** stands for **Mahādēvī,** the queen consort.

## Seals of King Mānasiṁha[2].

S. I, 841, 670, 349 (Pl. IX, *e*).

These are three specimens. Only one is complete. They are of a king called Mānasiṁha[2]. The entire one (S. I, 841) is a large terracotta plaque, somewhat oval in shape, the back being pierced by a hole going right through it. The face which is circumscribed by an oblong line pointed at both the ends is divided into two fields. The upper one lying above two horizontal lines shows a lion with open mouth and seated on his hind legs. He faces a crescent shown above a large sun-flower the figure of the sun being marked at his neck above the tail that has curled near it. The crescent in front would indicate that the king belonged to the Lunar dynasty. The mane of the lion is curled conventionally. The lower field below the dividing lines contains a three-line legend, which is composed in the *Āryā* metre and reads :—

1 Varṇṇ-āśrama-dharmma-vidaḥ sva-guṇ-ābhyuday-ānu-

2 raṁjita-prakṛitēḥ[3] [|*] śrī-**Mānasiṁha**[2]-nṛipatē-

3 r=jjayati jagat-prītayē lakshma [||*]

'The token of the illustrious **Mānasiṁha**[2] who has gladdened the subjects through the rise of his excellences and who knows the duties of the different *varṇas* and *āśramas* is victorious for the delight of the world'.

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1 [There seems to be a partly preserved *vva* after *rā*.—Ed.]

2 [The correct reading appears to be Īśānasimha, who from the type seems to be a predecessor of Paśupatisiṁha.—Ed.]

3 *Visarga* sign clear on Nos. 670 and 349.

## Seals of high officials.

S. I, 687 and 842 and 840.

Three large seals of baked clay and darkish in colour. One is broken in two parts, and is half burnt and yellowish in colour. A large hole runs from top to bottom. The obverse is a sunken area enclosed in an oblong line. The upper field separated from the lower by two straight lines with small perpendicular strokes at their ends is occupied by a lion seated on his hind legs and facing left with open mouth near which there is a crescent, below which there is a symbol representing a wheel or a large flower with pollen coming out of the centre, having a conch on each side. The mane of the beast is curled conventionally, the portion nearmost the neck being formed into necklace. The symbol above the tail to our right evidently represents the sun. The legend which is composed in the *Āryā* metre is written in the lower field, is three-line and reads :—

1 Vijit-ārāti-gaṇasya nyāyavatō rāja-
2 vṛitti-nipuṇasya [1*] sva=guṇa-ābharaṇasya
3 śrī-**Paśupatisiṁhasya** lakshm=ēdaṁ [||*][1]

'This is a token of the illustrious **Paśupatisiṁha**, whose own (good) qualities are his ornaments, who is expert in serving the king, is just and has vanquished his foes.' (There are fragments of four more seals.)

S. I, 822 (Pl. IX, *f*).

Circular, reddish with grooves on back. Obverse enclosed in one dotted and one plain line. Upper field is taken by a lion seated as in the above-mentioned two seals—open mouth of the lion is near the Sun symbol. The lower field is divided by lines as in the above. The legend is written in one line and reads :—

Śrī-**Sāgar**-āmātyaḥ

'The illustrious Minister **Sāgara**'. [Reading seems to be Śrī-Sāgarasiṁhasya.—Ed.]

S. No. 1, Nos. 795, 815.

Clay seal with the figure of a lion seated on his hind legs in front of a conch which is placed erect. The legend is written in two lines in the lower field. It reads :—

Line 1 Vijit-ārāti-gaṇasya nyāyavatō rāja-vṛitti-nipuna(ṇa)sya[2][|*]
Line 2 sva-guṇ-ābharaṇasya śrī- **Dēvasiṁhasya**[3].

## INSCRIPTIONS.

Very valuable inscriptions have been excavated at Nālandā. They are either connected with some donations or are simply votive. Among the former there are some which possess considerable historical importance and in the latter

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[1] For illustration see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, plate III(D), facing p. 76.
[2] No. 815 gives the legend in three lines and correctly reads *nipuṇa*.
[3] [No. 815 has *lakshm=ēdaṁ* after *Dēvasiṁhasya*.—Ed.]

we find documents which are of great religious value and are helpful in investigating matters of iconographical interest. They are of special value for the study of the statuary art of the period. Among the epigraphs which possess special historical importance the copper-plate inscription which purports to belong to Samudragupta, the mighty Emperor of the Gupta dynasty, would have been the earliest—had it not been of a spurious nature. The very wording of it would show that it could not have been written in the lifetime of that potentate in spite of its being dated in his fifth regnal year. The next in date is the stone inscription of Yaśōvarmadēva. Whether he was the Kanauj king of that name or was identical with the ruler whose name has been read as Yaśōdharma I am not yet able to decide. When I wrote about it first, I identified him with the homonymous king of Kanauj who flourished about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era. That time I was chiefly influenced by the form of the letters used in it—for I took it to be late. The script used in the Horiuzi (Japan) palmleaf manuscript of the *Ushṇīshavijayadhāraṇī* and in several inscriptions of the Gurjara grants of the fifth century (A. D.) led me to alter my view and, like Bühler, I thought that an alphabet closely resembling the modern Dēvanāgarī was in general use certainly during the 7th and the 8th centuries and probably at a much earlier date and "though it would seem that this alphabet was regularly used for literary purposes only, it cannot be denied that it sometimes was employed for *śāsanas* also"[1]. Then I remembered the name Yaśōdharma which I consider to be an impossibility. Fleet was inclined to suspect the correctness of it and we have not yet found another instance of such a name —*yaśas* is not a *dharma*—and we cannot expect such an appellation although names ending in the component *dharma* are to be met with. Consequently I took the name to be Yaśōvarman. The contents of the record under notice allowed this possibility. Bālāditya could very well fit in. Both these potentates joined and succeeded in vanquishing the barbarian *Hūṇas*. This king Bālāditya was dead when the inscription was set up but the way he is spoken of in the *praśasti* would show that he was not a remote ruler either in time or in distance. This is indicated by the use of the verbal inflexion of *liṭ* which, according to Patañjali,[2] can be employed even for the events that took place very recently. The inscription was made in the time of Yaśōvarmadēva. Two of its verses, *viz.*, 4-6, are historical rather than descriptive and simply mean that Mālāda made the offerings in the shrine that Bālāditya had built. And Bālāditya could have built that shrine some 60 or 70 years earlier. Bālāditya ruled about 530 A. D. The Bhitari and the Nālandā seal would show that he was succeeded by Kumāragupta II. The Sārnāth inscription gives us the date 154 (=473 A. D.) for Kumārāgupta II. That there were two Bālādityas we now know for certain. One of them came into conflict with Mihirakula about 529-530 A. D. This was Narasiṁhagupta (*alias* Bālāditya) who flourished before 500 A. D. The inscription under notice speaks of two benefactions. The dedication by Mālāda described in the *praśasti* was an additional foundation to

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 151.
[2] *Mahābhāshya*, III, 265.

one made by Bālāditya originally. To me this seems to be plausible and so far nothing has come out which will controvert this view. The Ghosrāwāñ *praśasti* of Dēvapāladēva which I am giving in the sequel would rather support it. This interesting record would tell us that the Peshawar country had very brilliant Buddhist teachers about the time of Dēvapāladēva and this could not have happened all of a sudden. The conversion of Mālāda and others must have been the result of the spread of Buddhism in Gandhāra during earlier ages. If, however, anything decisively going against it turns up, I shall gladly revert to my original opinion to the effect that the potentate to whose reign the Nālandā stone inscription belongs is the Yaśōvarmadēva of Kanauj.

Amongst inscriptions which are chiefly votive special mention is to be made of the record or the image of Vāgīśvarī which was found at Kapaṭiyā, a small hamlet near the site of Nālandā. It mentions a king named Gōpāla who is evidently of the Pāla lineage. He flourished about the year 750 A. D. and is thus described in the '*Māñjuśrīmūlakalpa*'.

"That king (will be) sweet in speech, considerate and a power.

"Formerly, he will, in youth, be in the hands of women, miserable, foolish, having been subdued by enemies but coming in contact with a good (religious) friend, he will become very charitable. He will become the maker of *vihāras*, *chaityas*, gardens, reservoirs, beautiful free hotels, bridges, *dēva* temples, and caves. He will be ready in matters praiseworthy. The land will become surrounded by many heretics. He will be kind and sensualist but lover of justice or *dharma*. Having ruled for 27 years he would die on the Ganges at the age of 80."

As a maker of *vihāras*, etc., he must have given images in gifts and the icon on which this inscription is engraved probably was one of those gifts. On the evidence of this record it can be surmised that Magadha was a part of his territory about the middle of the 8th century.

The other inscription possessing special historical value is the charter of Dēvapāladēva which I had the good luck of discovering during my explorations of Nālandā. This invaluable document has already been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* where its contents have also been discussed. Several Dutch savants have also written their comments on it. So far as I am aware the identification of the Śailēndras mentioned in this inscription is still an open question in spite of the conjectures which have been hazarded about them.[1] It will not be of much use to notice them here. The text and the translation of the inscription are given here for the sake of ready reference. The Ghosrāwāñ *praśasti* is connected with this Emperor, namely, Dēvapāladēva and also with Nālandā and its text and translation as given by Kielhorn are added for a similar reason.

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[1] The latest contribution about the Śailēndras of which I am aware has appeared in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. II, No. 1. Here the opinion is given that the dynasty was so named after Śiva, the lord of the *śailas* or mountains. One should remember in this case that Śiva is rather a 'destroyer' and not 'creator.' M. Coedès' idea looks more plausible. The kings of Fu-nann bore the title of *Śailarāja* which is a synonym of Śailēndra and Fu-nann was the seat of the Śailēndras. Possibly these Fu-nann kings embraced Buddhism and adopted Sanskrit names. Fu-nann was Hinduised by the Brāhmans who went there about the 4th century of the Christian era.

The other two inscriptions requiring special mention belong to the reign of Mahēndrapāla, the Pratihāra king of Kanauj. One of them is engraved on a miniature stone *stūpa* and the other on the pedestal of a stone image of Buddha which I discovered in a private collection at Bihār Sharīf in 1933 when I was in camp at Nālandā. The texts of all these inscriptions are given in their proper places. They would indicate that Southern Bihār or Magadha was included in the territory of Mahēndrapāla about his 4th regnal year, which is the date of the latter record.

Inscriptions of a purely votive or religious nature have also been unearthed at Nālandā. These are also noticed in this chapter. The most important of these records are those which give us the text of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*. Most of them are fragmentary, they are incised on bricks or stones. Only two require special mention here. They are almost complete and are written on large bricks. From a literary point of view they are of a special value. The bricks which bear them are marked A and B respectively. In the case of B the whole inscription is written on one side while in that of A the top and three sides are occupied by writing. The script used is late Gupta and the language is Sanskrit. These two bricks read together enable us to make out the complete text of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* and of its exposition, *i.e.*, *Vibhaṅga*. No other inscriptional record of the *Vibhaṅga* or Sanskrit explanation of this well-known Buddhist text has yet been found. Consequently these are unique relics. Finds so far made in other places only give the 12 *nidānas*[1] (the concatenation of causes and effects). For example, the bricks discovered at Gopālpur in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces, the Kasiā copper-plate I excavated from the Mahāparinirvāṇa-chaitya in 1910-11, and the Kurrum casket inscription[2] give only the text of the *Paṭichchasamuppādo*. Both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit versions of it are known already from inscriptions as well as from literature. Several inscriptions have been unearthed at Nālandā itself which give them. The 27th *pallava* of the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kshēmēndra gives the Sanskrit version. The hard struggle which Siddhārtha had to make for attaining the *bōdhi* has been narrated in Buddhist texts where the account of the happenings of the day on which the object of his life was realised is also to be found. In the evening on that day the Mahāpurusha marched towards the *Bōdhi*-tree and met the grass-cutter Svastika (Satthiya) and got from him an offering of 8 bundles of grass. This very suitable present was turned into an *āsana* which the great man occupied with resolve not to get up without attaining the real *jñāna*, the sole object of his life. The following asseveration shows the grim determination he made when he sat on this seat in the well-known attitude called *vajrāsana* or the adamantine seat. 'Let my skin, my nerves and bones wash away, let my life blood dry up, I will not leave this seat before attaining perfect enlightenment.' He kept his word and came off triumphant. In the first watch of the night he arrived at the knowledge of his former states of existence (*pūrvanivāsa*, *pubbenivāsa*);

[1] *Proc. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, pp. 99 ff.

[2] [An inscribed brick, dated (Gupta) year 197 and containing the same text as in these documents has recently been found at Nālandā. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 21 f.—Ed.]

in the second watch he acquired the heavenly eye (*divyachakshus, dibbachakkhu*); in the third watch, the knowledge of the series of causes and effects, *i.e.*, *Pratītyasamutpāda, Paṭichchasamuppādo.* It is this knowledge which the text written on these bricks gives; the four truths (*satyāni*), namely, *duḥkha*, suffering, *samudaya*, cause, *nirōdha*, suppression and *pratipad* or *mārga, i.e.*, path, state that there is suffering, that suffering has a cause, and that to suppress it one must know the right way. These 12 *nidānas* or twelvefold *Pratītyasamutpāda* reveal the root of the evil. When the root cause is found out, the evil or real disease is easily remedied. This concatenation of causes and effects, this text says, is made of (1) *avidyā*, ignorance, (2) *saṁskāras*, impressions; (3) *vijñāna*, clear consciousness; (4) *nāmarūpa*, name-and-form, (5) *shaḍāyatana*, the six organs of sense; (6) *sparśa*, contact of the senses with external objects; (7) *vēdanā*, feeling; (8) *trishṇā*, desire; (9) *upādāna*, clinging, effort; (10) *bhāva*, becoming, beginning of existence; (11) *jāti*, birth, existence; and (12) *jarā-maraṇa-śōka-paridēvanā-duḥkha-daurmanasy-aupayāsaḥ*, old age, and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despondency. The world was full of misery *duḥkha-mayañ=jagat* and the Mahāpurusha by his continuous exertions found out the cause of the evil and the way how to suppress it. When he occupied the *vajrāsana* and got the enlightenment, he evolved from within two formulas, one consists of the four *Ārya-satyāni* and the other of the twelvefold *Pratītyasamutpāda*. These are briefly expressed in the well-known creed formula.

*Yē dharmā hētu-prabhavā hētun=tēshān=Tathāgatō hy=avadat/Tēshāñ=cha yō nirōdhaēvaṁvādī Mahāśramaṇaḥ.*

They represent the fundamental truths of his teaching and were first revealed by him to the Pañcha-Bhadravargīyas at Mṛigadāva (Sārnāth) when he first set the 'Wheel of Law' in motion and later to all beings alike.

The large number of clay tablets found at Nālandā has its own interest. They were in all probability given to the pious visitors as mementos. Persons who were not rich or could not afford to erect large *chaityas* or put up costly images got these plaques and then gave them as their offerings. Some of these were given back as *prasāda*. This we see at the *tīrthas* of the Hindus even in these days. Typical examples of such antiquities are represented in the accompanying photographs (Pl. I, *a* and *e*; Pl. II, *a*). The figures and the writings they bear testify to the skilfulness of the artists who wrought them. The smaller sealings with the creed formula written on them in minute letters are found in large numbers on Buddhist sites all over India. They are deposited in small *stūpas* also. In one case a miniature clay *stūpa* unearthed at Nālandā got broken and one small clay sealing of this kind was found inside it. Evidently this was inserted before the *stūpa* was baked. It is not unlikely that other numberless similar *stūpas* which have been excavated at Nālandā might be containing similar sealings deposited in them. The creed formula gives the knowledge which the Buddha discovered and is therefore one of the most sacred things for a Buddhist. To deposit it in a *stūpa* will be a highly meritorious deed for him. The *stūpa* might be taken as the body of the Buddha and the formula as the essence, 'his divine knowledge'.

The other clay tablets which come under this head bear some texts but I have not been able to decipher them. The letters in which they are written are too small and worn. A few words here and there are no doubt readable. Their photographs are however given so that scholars with stronger eyes might try them (Plate I, *e*).

## Nālandā copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta.

This plate was discovered in 1927-28 in course of excavation in the north verandah of Monastery No. I at a depth of 19 ft. from the top and about 1′ 6″ above the concrete pavement of the lower monastery. It was found with the reverse side up among burnt dèbris in front of the door of a cell. Along with it were recovered the Dharmapāla copper-plate which was lying just beside it and a few fragments of a chain armour found at a distance of about 6′ from it. The armour must have belonged to some soldier who took an active part in the onslaught during which this monastery was burnt down. As the accompanying facsimile would show, the plate must have very badly suffered from fire. Only one side of it was inscribed and the inscription comprised 12 lines of which now five alone are intact. The script in which it is written is late Gupta and the language is Sanskrit prose. It purports to be the charter of Samudragupta, the great Gupta Emperor of India, issued from his victorious camp at *Nṛipura*. The inscription incised on it gives the second day of Māgha and the fifth regnal year of Samudragupta as its date and has no seal attached to it. *Gōpasvāmin*, the *Mahā(sēnā)pati* and *Akshapaṭalādhikṛita*, *i.e.*, the great minister and the officer appointed to the duties of the depository of legal documents, is mentioned in it as the officer under whose order it was written, and it ends with the name of the illustrious Chandragupta, evidently the son and successor of Samudragupta. Owing to its very bad preservation, the greater portion of the writing has become obscure or lost and the details regarding the grant as well as the grantee cannot be ascertained definitely. The fifth line seems to give *Pushkaraka* as the name of the gift-village. In tenor, script and language, the document is practically identical with the Gayā copper-plate which was published by Fleet long ago.[1] Perhaps the executor of the grant, namely Gōpasvāmī—provided it is correctly read—is also the same person. The epithets of Samudragupta from *sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttuḥ* (l.1) to *Lichchhavi-dauhittrasya* (l.4) are given in the genitive case, but the attributes *Kumāradēvyām=utpannaḥ*, *parama-bhāgavatō* and *mahārājādhirajā-śrī-Samudraguptaḥ* are put in the nominative case. This causes suspicion and I consider the document to be spurious consequently. The lateness of the script used supports this surmise.

The readable portion of the grant is transcribed below.

The Nṛipura of this record is evidently the present Nṛipura which is a large *mauzā* lying some $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Nālandā and comprising four *tālukas*, namely, Nṛipur, Chak-Nirpur, Jalālpur and Tājubīghā. The present status of the *mauza* is indicative of its importance in early ages. The names of the *vishayas* mentioned in it are not clear. Whether the village named in line 5

[1] *Corpus Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 254 f.

was termed *Chandrapushkaraka* or *Vadrapushkaraka* is not certain. Possibly it was situated on a *pokharā* or tank and was called after it. *Chandrapushkaraka-grāma* is a very likely name and Chāndpokharā may be derived from it.

The date given in the charter is evidently regnal and would correspond to about the year 335 A. D. assuming that Samudragupta ascended the throne *cir.* 330 A. D.

## Text.[1]

Line 1 Ōm svasti [|*] Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhāvārāt Nṛipura-vāsakāt [|*] [sarvva-rājōchchhēttuḥ] pṛithivyām=apratirathasya chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvā]-

Line 2 dita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varun-Ēndr-Ānta[ka*]-samasya=Kṛitāntaparaśōr=nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-ō[chchhann-ā]-

Line 3 śvamēdh-āharttur=mmahārāja-śrī-*Gupta*-prapauttrasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-*Ghaṭōtkacha*-pauttrasya [mahārājādhirāja-śri-*Chandragupta*-puttra]-

Line 4 sya [Lichchhavi-dauhittrasya mahādēvyāṁ Kumāradēvyām=utpannaḥ parama-bhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-*Samudraguptaḥ*]

Line 5 vaishayika-[Chandra ?]pushkaraka-grāma-Krivinada ?-vaishayika .... ................gam pu....pra..........ku

Line 6 ........................mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy..........

Line 7 ..................................................tadya shā ........

Line 8 ........................... samuchitā grā[ma*] pratyāya-hiraṇy-ādayō dēyā na chaita[t]pra-

Line 9 bhrity=anēna.......... dyā dānyagrām-ādi-karada-kuṭumbi-kārukādayaḥ pravēśayitavyā [a]nyath=āniyatam=agrahār-ākshēpa[ḥ]

Line 10 syād=iti.............. Samb(v)at 5 Māgha di 2 nivaddha[m*]

Line 11 [Anya]grām-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita. mahāsēnāpati-mahāv(b)alādhikṛita-[Gōpasvā]m(my)-ādēśa-likhitam

Line 12 [kumā]ra-śrī-Chandragupta[ḥ]

## The stone inscription of the reign of Yaśōvarmadēva.

This important document has already been published by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*[2], where I have discussed in detail all the main points which it discloses. I need not recapitulate what has been stated there. For the sake of ready reference, I would like to give here only the text and translation of it.

Mention might be made here of another *praśasti* of this kind which was found at the village of Ghosrāwāñ long ago and was finally published by Kielhorn. The tone and wording of these two *praśastis* are very much alike and I am led to think on that account that the composers were indebted to one another. The Ghosrāwāñ *praśasti* mentions a '*Yaśōvarmmapura-vihāra*' which in all probability was founded by the king *Yaśōvarman* himself. A number of beautiful Buddha sculptures still lying at different places in this village would show that the locality was once in a flourishing condition; and had many followers of Buddhism residing in it. That *Yaśōvarma-vihāra* was an important

[1] [For a more complete text see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 50 and Plate.--Ed.]

[2] Vol. XX, pp. 43 f. and Plate.

monastery would be inferred from the fact that *Vīradēva* of *Nagarahāra*, as stated in the *praśasti*, came to pay a visit to it. The tradition current among the elderly folk in the village connects Bargāoñ and Tittarāmāñ, a large village some two miles to the north of Ghosrāwāñ, and Ghosrāwāñ together saying that they all belong to one period. If conjecture is allowed Ghosrāwāñ might be identical with Yaśōvarma-vihāra and in Tittarāmāñ one might find a recollection of the Tātarian who came this side in the reign of Yaśōvarmadēva like the *pratīta-Tikina* of the inscription of the time of Yaśōvarmadēva. For the sake of comparison the text and translation of the Ghosrāwāñ *praśasti* will be given below.

## Text.

1 Saṁsāra-sthira-va(ba)ndhanāt=kṛita-matir=mōkshāya yō dēhināṁ kāruṇyāt=prasabhaṁ śarīram=api yō datvā tutōsh=ārthinē [|*] s-Ēndrair=yaḥ sva-śiraḥ-kirīṭa-makarī-ghṛishṭ-aṁhri-

2 padmaḥ surais=tasmai sarvva-padārtha-tatva(ttva)-vidushē Vu(Bu)ddhāya nityaṁ namaḥ || [1* ||][1] Sarvvēshāṁ mūrdhni datvā padam=avanibhṛitām=udgatō bhūri-dhāmā nistriṁs-āṁśu-pratāna-pradalita-nikhil-ārāti-ghō-

3 r-āndhakārah [|*] khyātō yō lōka-pālaḥ sakala-vasumatī-padminī-v(b)ōdha-hētuḥ śrimān Bhāsvān=iv=ōchchais=tapati diśi diśi śrī-Yaśōvarmmadēvaḥ || [2* ||][2] Tasy=āsau parama-prasāda-ma

4 hitaḥ śrīmān=udār-āśayaḥ putrō mārgapatēḥ pratīta-*Tikin*-ōdīchīpater=mantriṇaḥ [|*] *Mālādō* bhuvi nandanō=ridamanō yō V(*B*)*andhumatyās*=sudhīr=dīn-āśā-paripūraṇ-ai-

5 ka-chaturō dhīrō viśuddh-ānvayaḥ || [3 ||*][1] Y=āsāv=ūrjita-vairi-bhū-pravigalad-dān-āmv(b)u-pān-ōllasan-mādyad-bhṛiṅga-kar-īndra-kumbha-dalana-prāpta-śriyām=bhūbhujāṁ *Nālandā* ha-

6 sat=īva sarvva-nagarīḥ śubhr-ābhra-gaura-sphurach-chaity-āṁśu-prakarīs=sad-āgama-kalā-vikhyāta-vidvaj-janā || [4 || *][1] Yasyām=amv(b)udhar-āvalēhi-śikhara-śrēṇī-vi-

7 hār-āvalī māl=ēv=ōrdhva-virājinī virachitā dhātrā manōjñā bhuvaḥ [|*] nānā-ratna-mayūkha-jāla-khachita-prāsāda-dēvālayā sad-vidyādhara- saṅgha-

8 ramya-vasatir=dhattē Sumērōḥ śriyam || [5 ||*][1] Atr=āsa[hya]-parākrama-praṇayinā jitv=ākhilān=vidvishō *V*(*B*)*ālāditya*-mahānṛipēṇa sakalam=bhuktvā cha bhū-maṇḍalam [|*]

9 prāsādaḥ sumahān=ayam=bhagavataḥ Śauddhōdanēr=adbhutaḥ Kailās-ābhibhav-ēchchay=ēva dhavalō manyē samutthāpitaḥ || [6 ||*][1] Api cha || Nyak-kurvvann=Indu-kāntin=Tuhinagi-

10 ri-śiraḥ=śrēṇi-śobhān=nirasyan śubhrām=ākāśa-Gaṅgān=tad=anu malinayan mūkayan vādi-sindhūn manyējētavya-śūnyē bhuvana iha vṛithā bhrāntir=ity=āka-

11 layya bhrāntvā kshōṇīm=aśēshāñ=jita-vipula-yaśa-stambha uchchais=sthito vā || [7 ||*][2] Atr=ādāyi(nivēdyam=ājya-dadhimad=dīpas-tathā bhāsuraś=chātur-jātaka-rēṇu-miśram=amala-

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[1] Metre *Śārddūlavikrīḍitam*.

[2] Metre *Sragdharā*.

12 n=tōyaṁ sudhā-śītalaṁ(m) I sādhvī ch=ākshaya-nīvikā bhagavatē V(B)uddhāya śuddh-ātman *Mālādēna* yathōkta-vaṁśa-yaśasā tēn=a ti-bha ktyā svayaṁ(m) || [8 ||*][1] Ādēśāt=sphīta-śīla-śruta-dhavala-dhi-
13 yō bhikshu-saṅghasya bhūyō dattan=tēn=aiva samyag=v(b)ahu-ghṛita-dadhibhir=vyañjanair=yuktarm(m=a)nnaṁ(m) I Bhikshubhyas=tach=chaturbhyō bahu-surabhi-chatur-jātak-āmōdi nityaṁ tōyaṁ sattrē vibhaktaṁ punar=api
14 vimalaṁ bhikshu-saṅghāya dattam || [9 ||*][2] Tēn=aiv-ādbhuta-karmmaṇā nijam=iha krītv=ā[rya]-Saṅgh-āntikān=muktvā chīvarikāṁ pradāya vidhinā sāmānyam=ēkan=tathā kālaṁ prērayituṁ sukhē-
15 na layanan=dattaṁ sva-dēśam=vinā tēbhyō *Narddarik*-āvadhēś=cha parataḥ Śākyātmajēbhyaḥ punaḥ || [10 ||*][1] Dānaṁ yad=ētad=amalaṅ-guṇa-śāli-bhikshu-*Pūrṇṇēndrasēna*-vachana-prativ(b)ōdhitēna I tēna pratīta-
16 yaśasā bhuvi *Nirmalāyā* bhrātrā vyadhāyi śarad-Indu-nibh-ānanāyāḥ || [ 11 ||*][3] Pitrōr=bhrātuḥ kalatra-svasṛi-suta-suhṛidān=tasya dharmm-aika-dhāmnō dattaṁ dānaṁ yaḍ=ētat=sakalam=ati-rasēn=āyur-ā
17 rōgya-hētōḥ I sarvvēshāñ=janmabhājāṁ bhava-bhaya-jaladhēḥ pāra-saṁtā-raṇ-ārthaṁ śrīmat-Samv(b)ōdhi-kalpa-druma-vipula-phala-prāptayē ch=ānumōdyam || [12 ||*][2] Chandrō yāvach=chakāsti sphurad-uru-kiraṇō lō-
18 ka-dīpaś=cha Bhāsvān ēshā yāvach=cha dhātrī sa-jaladhi-valayā dyauś=cha datt-āvakāśā yāvach=ch=aitēmahāntō bhuvana-bhara-dhurān=dhārayantō mahīdhrās=tāvach=Chandr-āvadātā dhavalayatu diśām=ma-
19 ṇḍalaṁ kīrttir=ēshā || [13 ||*][2] Yō dānasy=āsya kaśchit=kṛita-jagad-avadhēr=antarāyaṁ vidadhyāt=sākshād=*Vajrāsanasthō* *Jina* iha bhagavān=antarasthaḥ sad=āstē I *V(B)ālādityēna* rājñā pradalita-ri-
20 puṇā sthāpitas=ch=aisha śāstā pañch-ānanta[rya]-kartur=ggatim=ati-vishamān=dharmahīnaḥ sa yāyāt || [14 ||*][2] Ity=ēvaṁ *Śīlachandra*-prathita-karaṇika-*Svāmidattāv*=alaṅghyāṁ Saṅgh-ājñāṁ mūrdhni kṛitvā śruta-lava-
21 vibhavāv=apy=anālōchya bhāraṁ(m) | hṛidyām=ētām=udārāṁ tvaritam=akurutām=aprapañchāṁ praśastiṁ vāñchhētāṁ kin=na paṁgū śikhari-taru-phal-āvāptim=uchchaiḥ karēṇa || [15 ||*][2]

## Translation.

(V. 1) Continual salutation to the Buddha who made up his mind to emancipate living beings from the strong tangles of the world and who felt exceedingly delighted after giving (*his own*) body to the supplicant, whose foot-lotus is rubbed by the gods, including Indra, with the small *makara* figures (*engraved*) in the diadems on their heads, and who is conversant with the real nature of all the categories.

(V. 2) The illustrious, prosperous and highly glorious **Yaśōvarmmadēva** has risen after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings and has completely

[1] *Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[2] Metre *Sragdharā.*
[3] Metre *Vasantatilakā.*

removed the terrific darkness in the form of all his foes by the diffusion of the rays of his sword. He is the celebrated protector of the world and the cause of the excitement of all the *Padminī* women of earth. He shines above all in every quarter like the resplendent Sun, who has risen after spreading his rays on the tops of all the mountains and has torn asunder by the diffusion of severe rays the foe in the form of terrible darkness, who is the well-known protector of the world and cause of the blooming of all the lotuses of the earth.

(V. 3) **Mālāda** was the illustrious and magnanimous son of the well-known **Tikina** (*i.e.*, *Tegin*), who was his (Yaśōvarmadēva's) minister, the guardian of the frontier and ruler of the north. He (Mālāda), the unrivalled and quick subduer of the enemies, fulfiller of the desires of the supplicants on the earth, resolute, of stainless family, and the son (literally, gladdener) of **Bandhumati**, was honoured by his (Yaśōvarmmadēva's) great favour.

(Vv. 4-6) **Bālāditya,** the great king of irresistible valour, after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth, erected, as if with a view to see the Kailāsa mountain surpassed, a great and extraordinary temple (*prāsāda*) of the illustrious son of Śuddhōdana (*i.e.*, the Buddha) here at Nālandā. Nālandā had scholars, well-known for their (*knowledge of the*) sacred texts and arts, and (*was full of the*) beams of the rays of the *chaityas* shining and bright like white clouds. She was (*consequently*) mocking, as it were, at all the cities of the kings who had acquired wealth by tearing asunder the temples of the great elephants surrounded by the shining black bees which were maddened by drinking the rut in the hostile lands. She had a row of *vihāras*, the line of whose tops touched the clouds. That (*row of vihāras*) was, so to say, the beautiful festoon of the earth, made by the Creator, which looked resplendent in going upwards. Nālandā had temples which were brilliant on account of the net-work of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and the virtuous *Saṅgha* and resembled Sumēru, the charming residence of the noble Vidyādharas.

(V. 7) (*The prāsāda*), after having gone round the earth and on finding, as it were, that it was a useless wandering when this world had no other structure to be conquered (surpassed), stands aloft, as if it were a column of the great fame it had won, scoffing at the lustre of the moon, disregarding the beauty of the rows of the summits of the Snow-mountain (Himālaya), soiling (*i.e.*, throwing into the shade) the white Ganges of the sky, and then turning dumb the streams of disputants.

(V. 8) Here, Mālāda of the above-mentioned family and fame himself brought with great devotion for the pure Lord Buddha the pious permanent grant, pure water as cool as nectar and mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects, as well as, the shining lamp, the offerings of clarified butter and curds.

(V. 9) Under the order of the community of friars of bright intellect, great piety and learning, he again distributed daily, in a fitting manner, rice with (*various*) preparations, curds and copious *ghee*, to the four monks.[1] He again gave

[1] It means " monks from the four quarters ".

to the assembly of monks the pure and highly fragrant water, perfumed with the four[1] objects (scents) and distributed daily at the *sattra*.

(V. 10) He (Mālāda), whose deeds were wondrous, purchased (*everything of*) his own here (at Nālandā) from the revered *Saṅgha* and gave it back (*to the bhikshus*) according to rites, barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the *Śākya* (*i.e.*, Buddhist monks), a common dwelling place (*wherein*) to spend time happily, up to and beyond Narddarikā, excepting a place for himself.[2]

(V. 11) This stainless gift has been made by him who is the brother of **Nirmalā** whose face resembled the autumnal moon. His fame is spread over the world and he has been awakened by the words of the monk **Pūrṇṇēndrasēna,** who shines by his excellence.

(V. 12) All this gift has been given with great devotion for the sake of the welfare and longevity of the parents, brother, wife, sister, son and friends of him (*i.e.*, Mālāda) who is the sole repository of virtue. May it be approved so that the living beings might cross the fearful ocean of the world and attain the great fruit of the Wishing Tree in the form of the sacred Enlightenment (*Bōdhi*).

(V. 13) As long as the Moon shines and the Sun, the lamp of the world, with his lustrous and extensive rays (*sheds light*), as long as this earth together with the encompassing ocean endures and the sky, which gives space, lasts, and as long as these great mountains, bearing the yoke of the world, remain, so long let this *kīrtti*, which is pure like the Moon, whiten the circle of (*all*) the quarters.

(V. 14) Whoever interferes with this gift, which has to last as long as the world endures, will, void of virtue as he is, have the dire fate of one who commits the 'five sins'—(*let him know*) that the Lord Jina (the Buddha who occupies the adamantine seat) is here ever present within us and that the great king Bālāditya has established this image of the Buddha.

(V. 15) Thus, **Śīlachandra** and the well-known Karaṇika **Svāmidatta** having placed the order of the *Saṅgha* on their head, without considering the weight (*of responsibility*), composed at once this beautiful and sublime, though simple, *praśasti*, although the wealth of their knowledge is small—for, will not even the criples wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by (raising *their*) hand ?

## Shahpur stone image inscription of Ādityasēna.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1882, when General Cunningham published his reading of the text and gave a translation of it, as well as a lithograph.[3] Fleet re-edited it in the *Corpus*[4] *Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Its text and translation given by him run as follows.

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[1] They are :—*tvak*, *ēlā*, *patraka* and *nāgakēsara*.

[2] It means that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and after that again became a *grihastha*.

[3] Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. XV, p. 12, Plate XI, No. 1.

[4] Vol. III, pp. 208 ff. and Pl.

## Text.

1 ........ kh.l.ḍh.g...chandra-kshiti-kālaṁ yāvat=p[r]atipāditaṁ[||*]
2 Ōm Samvat 60 6 Mārgga śu di 7(?) asyān=divasa-māsa-samvatsar-ānupūrvyāṁ śrī-**Ādityasēna**-
3 [**dēva**]-rāj[y]ē **Nā**(?)**landa**(?)-mah-āgrahārē sādh[un]ā va(ba)lādhikṛita-**Sālapakshēṇa** dē[ya*]-dharmmō=yaṁ pratishṭhitaṁ(ḥ)
4 [mātāpitrōr=ā]tmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē [||*]

## Translation.

........ has been granted, to endure for the same time with ........ and the moon and the earth.

Line 2. Ōm ! The year 60 (*and*) 6 ; (the month) Mārga ; the bright fortnight ; the day 7 (?),—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day and month and year,—in the reign of the illustrious **Ādityasēnadēva,** this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous **Sālapaksha,** the *Balādhikṛita*, in the great *agrahāra of* **Nālanda** (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself.

The record shows that the image which bears it was originally set up 'in the great *agrahāra* of Nālandā' by Sālapaksha, the virtuous commander of an army (*Balādhikṛita*) in the reign of Ādityasēna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha in the 66th year of, probably, the Harsha era (672-73 A. D.). The description given by Fleet would indicate that the image whereon the inscription is engraved represented the Sun deity and was not Buddhistic. The mention of *agrahāra* in place of *vihāra* would support that view and make it Brahmanical. Several seals have been found at Nālandā which mention some *agrahāra* or gift-village in lieu of a monastery and bear symbols which are more of a Brahmanical than Buddhistic nature. The fact would lead us to surmise that Nālandā was not an exclusively Buddhist habitation but must have had Brahmanical establishments also about the 7th century after Christ. That solar worship existed there about that age is evidenced not only by this icon but by some other images also which have been recovered at the site and are now deposited in the museum which the Archæological Department has organised at Nālandā. I have already noticed this point above.

### The Kapatiya Vāgīśvarī image inscription of the time of Gōpāla.

This inscription was first noticed by Cunningham[1] who described it as incised on the image of Vāgīśvarī which was found in a collection lying in a temple at Kapatiya, a hamlet near the site of Nālandā. Neither any temple nor a collection of images is to be seen now at Kapatiya. Where the image bearing this inscription now lies is not known.[2]

[1] See A. S. R., Vol. I, p. 36 ; plate xiii, No. 1 and Vol. III, p. 120 ; R. D. Banerji, *The Palas of Bengal* p. 65, and Nilmani Chakravarti, Pala inscriptions in the Indian Museum, *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. IV, p. 105, plate VII.

[2] [This inscription is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.—Ed.]

### Text.

1 Samvat |(?) Āśvina śu di 8 paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājadhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-*Gōpāla* rājani (?) śri-Nālandāyāṁ

2 śrī-Vāgīśvarī bhaṭṭārikā[1] [suvarṇṇa-vrīhi saktā]

The *P. M. P.* Gōpāla king mentioned in this record is believed to be the second Pāla king of this name. Cunningham and Kielhorn took him to be Gōpāla I.

## The Nālandā copper-plate of Dharmapāladēva.

This copper-plate was found along with the copper-plate of Samudragupta which has been noticed above. It is also burnt; the inscription which it bears has suffered very badly, especially the reverse or the back side of it where excepting a few letters here and there the whole writing has disappreared.

The plate measures about $10\frac{3}{4}''$ by $7\frac{1}{4}''$ leaving the seal which is soldered to it at the top. Both of its sides are inscribed. The obverse seems to have 24 and the reverse not less than 12 lines of writing. The readable portion of the charter is written in Sanskrit prose and in early Dēvanāgarī characters. The seal bears the legend: *Śrīmān=Dharmapāladēvaḥ* which is engraved between two straight lines, and above a floral design. Above the legend is formed the usual Mṛigadāva emblem found in the Pāla records. Unlike the Khalīmpur grant the record at once starts in a business-like way with *Ōṁ.... sampatty-upātta-jaya-śabdaḥ* making no mention of the Vajrāsana or Buddha. The name of the place whence the charter was issued is written after the words '*jaya-śabdaḥ*' but is obscure. The expression *vāsakāt śrīmaj-jaya-skandhā vārāt* is however preserved.

The object of the charter is to register the gift of a village by the Pāla king *Dharmapāladēva*, though the name of the village and of the grantee is not clear. The name of the father of the donee is, however, clear and reads Dharmadatta (6th line from the bottom of the reverse side). It is also clear that the gift village lay in the Gayā *vishaya* and in the Nagara-*bhukti* or division. The text as far as it can be made out reads:—

### Text[1].

*Obverse.*

1 Ōṁ svasti | mahānau-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti-sampat(tt)y-upātta-jayaśavdā (bdā)-

2 ....vāsakāt śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt parama-

3 saugatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-*Gōpāladēva*-pād-ānudhyā-

4 taḥ paramēśvaraḥ parama-bhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirājaḥ śrī-

5 mān *Dharmmapāladēvaḥ* kuśalī Nagara-bhuktau Gayā-visha-

6 y-āntaḥpāti-Jamka(?)nadī-vīthi-prativ(b)addha-Nigraha(?)grāmāsannā

[1] [For fuller text see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 f.—Ed.]

7 ntararāma ? -grāmakaḥ samupāgatān (sa)rvvān=ēva rāja-rajāna-
8 ka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahākārttākṛitika-mahādaṇḍanāya-
9 ka-mahāpratihāra-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-dauḥsādhasādhanika-
10 pramātṛi-śarabhaṅga-kumārāmātya-rājasthānīy-ōparika-vishaya-
11 pati-dāśāparādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāśika-ksha(kshē)-
12 ........pāla-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-va(ba)la-vyā-
13 [pṛitaka]-kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-adhikṛita-dūta-prēshaṇika-gamā-
14 [gami]k-ābhitvaramāṇaka-Gauḍa-Mālava-Khaśa-Kulika-Hūṇa-bhaṭa-
15 ........dīn=anyāṅ(ṁ)ś=ch=ākīrttitān=sva-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinaḥ pra-
16 ........vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān=mahattara-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga-mēd-āndhra-chaṇḍā-
17 la........mvi[di*]taṁ yath=ōparilikhita Unta
18 ..........................gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōparikara
19 ..............................rōddharaṇaḥ sarvva-pīḍā-parihṛiti-
20 ............................pragrāhya rāja-bhāvyaṁ sarvva-pra-
21 ..............................ni ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-samakāla-
22 ..........................dēva-vrā(bra)hma-dēya-varjjitō mayā
23 ............................bhivṛiddhayē vandy-āchārya-Dharmma-
24 ..................................................................

*Reverse.*

25 ..............................śrī....
26 .....................sa
27 ..................................................ṇy-ādi-
28 ....
29 ....
30 ..........................dattā-didaśāṁsa
31 ................Dharmmadatta-putraḥ
32 chatuḥshashṭikara
33 ..............................prakshipa.................
34 ja
35 ka
36 ....kta

## Fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Dharmapāladēva (Pl. X, *a*).

This inscription is incised on the rim of a sculptured *stūpa* which is only partially preserved. The *stūpa* is made of the well-known Gayā stone and bears a number of seated Buddha figures carved on it. The inscription must have continued on the remaining portion of its drum and is beautifully engraved. The language in which it is written is Sanskrit verse and the alphabet is early Nāgarī though some ancient forms of letters like the *i* vowel in two circles surmounted by a stroke are also seen in it. Two fragments have as yet been recovered and are lying in the Museum. The fragment marked No. S. III 74 (1′ 7″ $\times 2\frac{1}{5}''$) appears to be a continuation of No. S. III 73 (1′ $1\frac{3}{5}'' \times 2\frac{1}{5}''$). The commencing portion is now missing. The fragment marked 73 gives two

lines of writing but the other bears three lines. The third line ends in a floral design placed between two perpendicular strokes. To the left of the design there appear to be some mason marks. The preserved portion of the inscription starts with the praise of **Dharmapāla,** evidently the Pāla king of Bengal whom it mentions as 'a ruler of diffused fame.' The way in which he is introduced would show that he was reigning when this '*kīrtti*' was set up and that Magadha formed a part of his dominions. It records the construction of the *stūpa* (beginning of l. 2) on which it is written and clearly states that the monument was constructed by the local masons—*atratyaiḥ śilpibhiḥ..ārōpitaḥ.* Their names are also given —Kēsē Savvō and Vijjaṭa ? This statement would indicate that Nālandā continued to have her own architects. The person who caused this benefaction was, we are here told, *Vairōchana* who was very 'brilliant,' bright, the right arm of the elderly **Śrīdharagupta,** very liberal, one whose orb of lustre was swinging and who was equal to the lord of gods 'in prowess'. He was born in Magadha when the said King Dharmapāla was ruling. No further details about this man and his patron—the elderly **Śrīdharagupta**—are to be found in it. Was he of the Gupta lineage ?

## Text.

1 Prakīrṇa-yaśasi śrī-**Dharmapālē** nṛipē jātaḥ śrī-Mam(Ma)gadhēshu bhāsvaratarō **Vairōchanō** rōchanaḥ [|*] Vṛiddha-**Śrīdharagupta**-dakshiṇa-bhujaḥ prēṅkhad-yaśō-maṇḍalaḥ śraddhā-vēga-[vi]vṛiddha-dāna-salilō Dēvēndra-pīl-ūpamaḥ || Tasy=āyaṁ bhava-bhēda-kṛit=pariga[tō] Vu(Bu)ddha-jvala...............

2 stūpaḥ pīta-payaḥ-payōda-vibha vair=dhātr=ēva nishpāditaḥ || Iti mama para-saukhya-chitta-vṛittēr=mṛidu-kara-maṇḍala-nandi-puṇya-vṛindaṁ | yad=abhavad=iha tēna sarvva-sattvaḥ Sugata-padaṁ sukhadaṁ prayātu nityaṁ || Yāvad=rājati hansō(haṁso)=yaṁ nabhaḥ-sarasi sañcha[ran*] [|*]...........

3 Atratyaiḥ śilpibhiḥ Kēsē-Savvō-[Vō]kkēka-Vijjaṭaiḥ | Vajraśaṅkur=iv=ārādhyaiḥ Rītidharmmāya rōpitaḥ[1]||

## Translation.

When the illustrious **Dharmapāla** of wide fame (*was*) the king, the shining and very brilliant **Vairōchana** was born in Magadha. He was the right arm of the old **Śrīdharagupta.** His orb of fame was swinging (*around*). The water with which he gave away charities greatly increased (*in flow*) on account of the excitement caused by his faith, and he was like the elephant of the King of Gods. This (*is*) his......which cuts asunder the differences of the worldly life......bright (*with the figures of the Buddha*[2]).

The *stūpa* which was made as if by the creator himself with the excellences of the clouds whose water has been drunk[3] off. May the whole sentient world ever attain the blissful position of Sugata, *i.e.*, the Buddha, by means of my collec-

[1] [I would read *vajra-śaṅkur=iv-ār-āgrē* (?) *rīti-dhvanmāya rōpitaḥ.*—Ed.]
[2] The *stūpa* is adorned with the figures of the Buddha cut in relief round it.
[3] It refers to the colours of the stones used.

tive merit which gladdens like the orb of the soft-rayed (moon)—whatever it be of me whose heart is turned to the happiness of others.

As long as the sun shines, roaming in the sky (lit. the tank of the sky)....

It was set up for the usual religious merit by the local artisans, Kēsē, Savvō, Vōkkaka and Vijjaṭa, who are revered like the Vajra-Śaṅku—(or Saṅgha ?)

## A metal image inscription of Dēvapāladēva ; year 3.

(S. 4, 103) (Pl. X, *b*).

This is the earliest inscription of the reign of Dēvapāladēva yet discovered at Nālandā. Like his other records it is also written in Sanskrit and Nāgarī. It consists of four short lines three of which measure 4·3″ and the fourth which is written in a corner measures about 1·1″ only. It reads :—

1 Ōṁ śrī-Dēvapāla-rājyē samvat 3 Rājagrī(gṛi)ha-vi-
2 sa(sha)yē Purika-grāma-nivāsinaḥ Kalachuri-antakē
3 ka (?) patnī Vikhākāya [śēha]janni(janāni[1] ?) śrī-Nālandāyāṁ[2] pra-
4 tipāditaḥ |

*Ōm.* The third regnal year of the illustrious Dēvapāla, Vikhākā, (Viśākhā ?) the sole wife of the 'destroyer of the Kalachuris' ? The resident of the village of Purika in the district of Rājagṛiha together with the people (?) set up at the famous Nālandā.

If the reading of the name is correct it would show that the donatrix's husband was a great warrior who must have routed the Kalachuris in the 3rd year of the reign of Dēvapāladēva. *Kalachuri-antaka* does not appear to be a proper name.

## The Hilsa statue inscription of the Thirty-fifth year of Dēvapāladēva.

This inscription has already been published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*[3] where the description of the statue on which it is engraved is also given. The writing on the pedestal is of historical importance. The rest incised on the figure itself consists of a *mantra* and the creed formula. The text of the main inscription is written in three lines running round the *pīṭha* in three divisions and is given below. It is dated in the reign of Dēvapāladēva, the famous Pāla king of Bengal, and is written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī script. Its object is to record the consecration of the image on which it is incised in the 35th regnal year of Dēvapāladēva by the lay disciple Gaṅgādhara at the instance of (?) the great monk śrī-Mañjuśrīdēva of the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā for the attainment of the excellent knowledge by his unrivalled teacher, parents and all sentient beings.

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[1] The context is not clear.

[2] [Ll. 2-3 I read as *Hada[thi]ka-grāma-nivāsita-Kalachuri-Anu[ka]ka-patnī-[La]khukāyā sva-jatī śrī-Nālandāya*, etc. The last letter *ka* in l. 2 was apparently scored out being superfluous.—Ed.]

[3] Vol. X (1924), pp. 31 ff. and Plate opp. p. 32.

## Text.

1 [Ōṁ] Samvat 35 śrī-Dēvapāladēva-vijaya-rājyē śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvaihārī(i)ka-stha-va(ba)hu-śruta-śrī-Mañjuśrī-dēvaḥ[1] saṅgha-para-

2 mōpāsaka-Gaṅgādharasya dēyadharmmō=yaṁ [|*] yad=artra(tra)-pun(ṇ)ya[ṁ*] tad=bhavatu āchā[rya-*]mātāpitṛi-pūrvvā(a)ṅgamaṁ kṛitvā sakala-sa-

3 [tva]-rāsh(ś)ē[r=*]anuttara-jñānaṁ vyāpta(m=avāptaya) iti ||

## A votive inscription of the reign of Dēvapāladēva.

(Pl. XI, *f*.)

Another inscription of the reign of Dēvapāladēva, mentioning Nālandā, is incised on the back of a female image, which was excavated from the site and is preserved in the Nālandā Museum as S. I. 372. It reads :—

1 [Ōṁ] śrī-Dēvapāladēva-rājyē
2 Rājagṛiha-vishayē śrī-Nā-
3 landā-mahāpaṭalē(a)-vāstavya-kumhāra-Vēdēma(?) pū(u)ttra-
4 Gōtuka(?)pū(u)ttra-Ujakadēśūka-kumhārī-kumhāra-śrī-
5 śrī Dēvapratipālitaṁ itiḥ(ti)[2].

The name of the donor or donors mentioned in it is not clear. So also the name of his father and grandfather. Apparently the terms 'kumhāra' and 'kumhārī' in the inscription stand for *kumāra* and *kumārī* meaning prince and princess respectively and not for *kumbhakāra* and *kumbhakārī*. The meaning of *Mahāpaṭala* is to be determined. I think it is 'a great division'. The evidence of the seals described above would show that Nālandā had its own administration. The district of Rājagṛiha seems to have formed a part of the territorial division which had Nālandā as the headquarters.

## The Saṅkarshaṇa image inscription of the time of Dēvapāladēva.

(Pl. X, *e*.)

This is a three-lined votive inscription written on the pedestal of a bronze statue of standing Saṅkarshaṇa. The image is preserved in the Nālandā Museum and is marked S. L. 342. In script and language it resembles the preceding records like which it also belongs to the reign of Dēvapāladēva. The word *rājyē* seems to have been left out after the name of the king. What I read as *bhadri* (=bhadra) at the end of the first line might be taken as an adjective of 'rājya' or of Dēvapāladēva himself, (in the auspicious reign of or in the reign of the blessed king Dēvapāladēva). Other proper names given in the record are not certain.

1 [Ōṁ] śrī-Nālandāya(āṁ) śrī-Dēvapāladēva-bha[drē]

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[1] [Reading appears to be *satka*.—Ed.]

[2] [Ll. 4-5 appear to read *Gōtuka-pūttra-Ujaka-Sōśuka-kumhārī-kumhāra-Su., d[ē]vi-pratipāditam=itiḥ* | | .—Ed.]

Line 2 ma[hā]-thērasya śrī-Da(or U)jjakasya Padu(d)madānasiṁha-
Line 3 kāya dēvadharmma(ō)=ya(yaṁ) pratī(ti)pādī(i)tt(t)aḥ[1]

'In Nālandā when the blessed and illustrious Dēvapāladēva (was ruling). Of the great *Sthavira* Da(or U)jjaka. For Padmadānasiṁha this pious gift has been made.'

## The Gōhsrāwāñ stone inscription of the reign of Dēvapāladēva.[2]

### Text.

1 Ōṁ Śrīmān=asau jayati sat[t*]va-hita-pravṛitta-san-mānas-ādhigata-tat[t*]va-nayō Munīndraḥ | klēś-ātmanāṁ durita-nakra-durāsad-āntaḥ sansā(ṁsā)ra-sāgara-samutta-

2 raṇ-aika-sētuḥ || Asy=āsmad-guravō va(ba)bhūvur=ava(ba)lāḥ saṁbhūya harttuṁ manaḥ kā lajjā yadi kēvalō na va(ba)lavān=asmi trilōka-prabhau | ity=ālōcha-yat=ē-

3 va Mānasabhuvā yō dūratō varjitaḥ śrīmān=viśvam=aśēsham=ētad=avatād=Vō-(bō)dhau Sa-vajrāsanaḥ || Asty=**Uttarāpatha**-vibhūshaṇa-bhūta-bhūmir=dēś-ōttamō **Na-**

4 **garahāra** iti pratītaḥ | tatra dvijātir=udit-ōdita-vaṅśa(ṁśa)-janmā nāmn=Ēndra-gupta iti rāja-sakhō va(ba)bhūva || Rajj[ē]kayā dvija-varaḥ sa guṇī gṛi-

5 hiṇyā yuktō rarāja kalay=āmalayā yath=ēnduḥ | lōkaḥ pativrata-kathā-pari-bhāvanāsu saṁkīrttanaṁ prathamam=ēva karōti yasyāḥ || Tābhyām=ajā-

6 yata sutaḥ sutarāṁ vivēkī yō vā(bā)la ēva kalitaḥ para-lōka-vu(bu)ddhyā | sarvv-ōpabhōga-subhagē=pi gṛihē viraktaḥ [pravra]jyayā Sugata-śāsanam=abhyupē (pai)-

7 tuṁ || Vēdān=adhītya sakalān kṛita-śāstra-chintaḥ śrīmat-**Kanishkam**=upa-gamya **mahā-vihāraṁ** | āchārya-varyam=atha sa praśama-praśasyaṁ Sarvvajñaśāntim=anugamya

8 tapaś=chachāra || Sō=yaṁ viśuddha-guṇa-sambhṛita-bhūri-kīrttēḥ śishyō='nurūpa-guṇa-śīla-yaśō-bhirāmaḥ | vā(bā)lēndu-vat=kali-kalaṅka-vimukta-kāntir=vand-yaḥ

9 sadā muni-janair=api **Vīradēvaḥ** || Vajrāsanaṁ vanditum=ēkadā='tha śrīman-**Mahāvō(bō)dhim**=upāgatō='sau | drashṭuṁ tato='gāt=sahadēś[i]-bhikshūn śrī-mad-**Yaśōvarmma-**

10 **puraṁ vihāraṁ** || Tishṭhann=ath=ēha suchiraṁ pratipatti-sāraḥ śrī-**Dēvapāla-**bhuvanādhipa-lavdha(bdha)-pūjaḥ | prāpta-prabhaḥ pratidin-ōdaya-pūrit-āśaḥ pūsh=ēva dārita-

11 tamaḥ-prasarō rarāja || Bhikshōr=ātma-samaḥ suhṛid=bhuja iva śrī-Satyavō-(bō)dhēr=nijō **Nālandā**-paripālanāya niyataḥ saṅgha-sthitēr=yaḥ sthitaḥ | yēn=aitau sphu-

12 ṭam=**Indraśaila**-mukuṭa-śrī-chaitya-chūḍāmaṇī śrāmaṇya-vrata-sam(ṁ)vṛitēna jagataḥ śrēyō-'rtham=utthāpitau || **Nālandayā** cha paripālitay=ēha satyā śrīma-

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[1] [I read *Dēvapāladēva-haṭṭē [ma]lathērasya śē Ujjakasya padū[ni]-Siūkāya dēvadharmmaya pratīprādīttaḥ(dēyadharmō-yaṁ pratipāditaḥ)*.—Ed.]

[2] See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 309f. and plate.

13 d-vihāra-parihāra-vibhūshit-āṅgyā | udbhāsito=pi va(ba)hu-kīrtti-vadhū-patitvē yaḥ sādhu sādhur=iti sādhu-janaiḥ praśastaḥ || Chintā-jvaraṁ śamayatā= 'rtta-jana-

14 sya dṛishṭyā Dhanvantarēr=api hi yēna hataḥ prabhāvaḥ | yaś=ch=ēpsit-ārtha-paripūrṇṇa-manōrathēna lōkēna kalpataru-tulyatayā gṛihītaḥ || Tēn= aitad=a-

15 **tra** kṛitam=ātma-manō-vad=uchchair=vajrāsanasya bhavanaṁ bhuvan-ōttamasya | saṁjāyatē yad=abhivīkshya vimānagānāṁ Kailāsa-Mandara-mahīdhara-śṛiṅga-śaṅkā || Sarvva-

16 sv-ōpanayēna sat[t*]va-suhṛidām=audāryam=abhyasyatā samvō(mbō)dhau vihita-spṛihaṁ saha guṇair=visparddhi vīryan=tathā | atrasthēna nijē nijāv=iha vṛi(bṛi)hat-puṇy-ādhikārē

17 sthitē yēna svēna yaśō-dhvajēna ghaṭitau vaṅśā-(ṁśā)v=Udīchīpathē || Sōpāna-mārgam=iva mukti-p[uras]ya kīrttim=ētām(ṁ)=vidhāya kuśalaṁ=yad=upāt-tam=asmāt |

18 kṛitv=āditaḥ sa-pitaraṁ guru-vargam=asya samvō(mbō)dhim=ētu jana-rāśir= aśēsha ēva || Yāvat-kūrmmō jaladhi-valayāṁ bhūta-dhātrīṁ vi(bi)bhartti dhvānta-dhvansī(ṁsī)

19 tapati tapanō yāvad=ēv=ōgra-raśmiḥ | snigdh-ālōkāḥ śiśira-mahasā yāmavat-yaś=cha yāvat=tāvat=kīrttir=jayatu bhuvanē Vīradēvasya śubhrā ||

## Translation.

(L. 1) Ōṁ Triumphant is that glorious chief of sages (Buddha), who with his excellent mind, striving for the welfare of the beings, found out the system of truth; (*and who*), to those whose nature is affliction, (*is*) the one bridge for crossing the ocean of worldly existence, (*a bridge*) the ends of which are difficult of approach for (*those*) alligators—evils!

(L. 2) May the glorious (*Buddha*), who has his diamond-throne by the Bōdhi tree, protect this whole universe!—he, from whom the mind-born (Māra) drew far aloof, thinking, as it were, that if his betters had, united, been powerless to captivate the mind of (*Buddha*), why need *he* blush for failing in strength, single-handed, against the Lord of the three worlds!

(L. 3) There is an excellent country, known by the name of **Nagarahāra,** the land of which is an ornament to **Uttarāpatha** (the northern region). There, in a family which had risen higher and higher, was born a twice-born, Indragupta by name, a friend of the king.

(L. 4) As the moon with its spotless digit, so shone that meritorious distinguished twice-born, united with his wife Rajj[ē]kā, of whom people make mention in the very first place, when they ponder on tales of devotion to husbands.

(L. 5) To them was born a son, highly endowed with discernment, who, even as a child, was filled with thoughts concerning the other world. He gave up his attachment to his home, though it was blessed with every enjoyment, in order that, by going forth as an ascetic, he might adopt the teaching of Sugata.

(L. 7) Having studied all the Vēdas (*and*) reflected on the Śāstras, (*and*) having gone to the glorious great **Kanishka vihāra,** he then, following the excellent teacher Sarvajñaśānti, (*who was*) praiseworthy for his quiescence, gave himself up to asceticism.

(L. 8) This Vīradēva, (*being*) thus the disciple of one who by his pure qualities had accumulated great fame, (*and*) pleasing by the fame of corresponding qualities and natural disposition, (*was*) always, like the new-moon, an object of adoration, even to sages, inasmuch as his loveliness was free from the stain of the Kali age.

(L. 9) To adore the diamond-throne, he then once visited the glorious **Mahābōdhi.** From there he went to see the monks of his native country, to **the vihāra,** the glorious **Yaśōvarampura.**

(L. 10) Then staying here for a long time, he, the quintessence of intelligence, being treated with reverence by the lord of the earth, the illustrious **Dēvapāla** shone like the sun, endowed with splendour, filling the quarters with his daily rising, (*and*) dispelling the spread of darkness.

(L. 11) He who, (*being*) a friend (*dear*) like his own self, being as it were the own arm of the holy monk Satyabōdhi, by the decree of the assembly of monks (*saṅgha*) was permanently appointed to govern **Nālandā** ; (*and*) by whom, engaged in the vow of a *Śramaṇa*, there were erected for the welfare of the world these two holy *chaityas*, clearly two crest-jewels in the diadem of **Indraśaila ;**—

(L. 12) And who, on becoming the lord of the lady Great Fame, graced though he already was here by **Nālandā**, governed (*by and*) true (*to him and*) decorated by a ring of famous *vihāras*, was well praised by good people as a good man ;—

(L. 13) Who, by (*his mere*) sight allaying the fever of anxiety of people in distress, verily eclipsed the power of even Dhanvantari, and whom people, whose wishes he fulfilled by (*granting to them*) the objects desired, took to be equable to the tree of paradise ;—

(L. 14) He erected here for the diamond-throne, the best thing in the world, this habitation, lofty like his own mind, the sight of which causes those moving in celestial cars to suspect it to be a peak of the mountain Kailāsa or of Mandara.

(L. 15) Practising the generosity of those who are friends of the beings, by offering up his all, as well as manliness, eagerly directed towards the attainment of perfect wisdom and vying with (*his other*) excellencies, residing here, while his high holy office was continuing, he hoisted the banner of his fame on the two poles (*of his family*) in **Udīchīpatha** (the northern region).

(L. 17) Whatever merit has been acquired by the erection of this edifice, (*which is*), as it were, a staircase to the city of salvation, may through that the whole assemblage of men, headed by the circle of his elders (*and*) including his parents, attain to perfect wisdom !

(L. 18) As long as the tortoise bears the ocean-girded mother of all beings ; as long as the sun with its fierce rays is shining, dispelling the darkness ; as long as the nights present a pleasing appearance with the cool-splendoured (moon) ; —so long may the bright fame of Vīradēva be triumphant in the world.

## The Nalanda copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva.

(39th regnal year.)

This copper-plate was unearthed by me in 1921. I have already published it in the *Epigraphia Indica*[1] where I have fully discussed its contents. There is no need of recapitulation. But the text and translation of this very important document are given together with a synopsis to put the whole material in one place.

The seal is soldered to the plate and bears the legend *Śrī-Dēvapāladēvasya* written below the *Dharmachakra* symbol.

The introductory portion of this and of the Mungīr copper-plate[2] grant inscription are identical. The latter grant is older by six years, though both were issued by one and the same ruler from the same place, *viz.*, *śrī-Mudgagiri-samāvāsita-śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvāra*, *i.e.*, the victorious camp at Mudgagiri, the modern Monghyr in Bihār.

In the present charter we are told that Dēvapāladēva at the request of the illustrious ruler of Suvarṇṇadvīpa, named Bālaputradēva, granted five villages, four of which lay in the Rājagṛiha (Rājgir) and one in the Gayā *vishaya* (district) of the śrī-Nagarabhukti (Patna division) for the increase of merit or *puṇya*, for the comfort of the revered *bhikshus* of the four quarters, for writing the *dharma-ratnas* or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep of the monastery which must have been built at Nālandā at the instance of the said king of Suvarṇṇadvīpa. The four villages granted in the Rājagṛiha *vishaya* were Nandivanāka, Maṇivāṭaka, Naṭikā and Hastigrāma and the one in the Gayā *vishaya* was called Pālāmaka. Some of these villages are mentioned in the seals also as I have remarked above. The formal part of the document ends with the date which is the **21st day of Kārttika the (regnal) Year** 39 and is written after the orders of the royal donor demanding regular payment of all the revenues due for the purposes detailed in the grant.

The inscription on the reverse of the plate is specially interesting because it makes mention of the Śailēndra kings of Java-Sumatra and shows that there was an interconnection between India and the Indian Archipelago about the 9th century after Christ. Balavarmman the *dūtaka* of the grant was the overlord of '*Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala*' which as the Khālimpur plate[3] of Dharmapāladēva would show, lay in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti and was evidently a subordinate of the Pāla king. The account of the king of Suvarṇṇadvīpa is unfortunately very meagre and we are not in a position to say anything definite regarding his ancestry. What we make out from the record is that Bālaputra, the ruler of Java-Sumatra who was a contemporary of Dēvapāladēva, belonged to the Śailēndra dynasty of kings who were Buddhist and must have held the island of Java under their sway about the eighth century of the Christian era. The Nālandā copper-plate inscription clearly shows that. The Leyden grant would show that

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[1] Vol. XVII, pp. 318 ff. and Plate. See also N. G. Majumdar, *Nālandā Copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva* (Monographs of the Varendra Research Society, No. 1).

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 253-58.

Māravijayōttuṅgavarmman was the overlord (*adhipati*) of Śrīvijaya and that about the end of the 10th century A. D. Sumatra was governed by the Śailēndra dynasty to which king Māravijayōttuṅgavarmman belonged. That both Sumatra and Java were under the sway of the Śailēndras about the ninth century we glean from the Nālandā copper-plate inscription. From an inscription on the southern wall of the Tanjore temple we find that Rājēndra-Chōla captured a king of Kaḍāram, named Saṅgrāmavijayōttuṅgavarmman and seized his vehicles as well as his accumulated treasure. This king of Kaḍāram on the evidence of the Leyden grant must have been the successor of Māravijayōttuṅgavarmman, the Śailēndra king of Śrīvijaya. The Tanjore inscription further tells us that Rājēndra-Chōla succeeded in conquering the kingdom of Śrīvijaya or Palembong. The Leyden plates tell us that he confirmed the grant made by his father Rājarāja for the monastery built by the Śailēndra king Māravijayōttuṅgavarmman, *i.e.*, the predecessor of the very ruler whom he had imprisoned and dispossessed of heaps of treasure. Our copper plate for the first time introduces to history the Śailēndra king Bālaputradēva of Suvarṇṇadvīpa together with some of his relations and the *dūtaka* namely Bālavarmman. The illustrious Mahārāja Bālaputradēva, our inscription tells us, was the overlord of Suvarṇṇadvīpa. His mother was Tārā, the daughter of a king Dharmasētu of the lunar race and the queen consort of the mighty king who was the son of the renowned ruler of " Yavabhūmi ". The latter, we are told, was an ornament of the Śailēndra dynasty and 'his name was conformable to the illustrious crusher or tormentor of his brave enemies'. The name of the father of Bālaputradēva is not given but the name of the grandfather is said to have been something like 'Śrī-Vīra-Vairimathana', meaning 'the illustrious destroyer of heroic foes'. This would lead us to surmise that the name must have been one like Paramarddi-dēva, Śatruñjaya, Arimarddana, Arindama, etc., but what it really was the inscription does not help us to determine. *Yavabhūmi* and *Suvarṇṇadvīpa* are evidently identical with the Yavadvīpa and the Suvarṇṇadvīpa islands spoken of in Sanskrit works like the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[2] and are unquestionably the modern Java and Sumatra. While speaking of Bālaputradēva as the king of Suvarṇṇadvīpa and his grandfather as the ruler of Yavabhūmi, the author of our inscription, apparently, took both the islands as one political unit, as he ought to have done for both the islands are such. The document makes it clear that Yavadvīpa is Java proper and that Suvarṇṇadvīpa is properly Sumatra. Here it may be remarked that in the known documents, the Śailēndras or the rulers of Śrīvijaya are nowhere mentioned as the feudatories of the Chōla or other Indian kings. Building convents or *vihāras* in one's territory does not necessarily indicate tutelage though it does show friendship or mutual regard. That the Śailēndras founded monasteries in India at Nālandā or elsewhere certainly signifies their being fervent Buddhists. These *vihāras*, like the one founded at Bōdh-Gayā by Mēghavarṇṇa of Ceylon during the Gupta

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[1] Book IV, Chap. XL, St. 30 and the Tilaka commentary on these verses. Here we find that Java in remote antiquity formed a large principality which comprised not less than seven minor states.

[2] *Taraṅga*, 57 ; *Sts*. 96, 134, 173, etc.

epoch, gave shelter to their own people as well as others. Dēvapāladēva was a staunch Buddhist. The endowment of a monastery built at the instance of or by the Javanese king at Nālandā cannot imply that the ruler of Java was a vassal of the king of Magadha. But the capture of the king of Kaḍāram by Rājēndra-Chōla is significant and does indicate submission. It is not a mere boast. Close relationship must have existed between Coromandel and the Far East during earlier days. The part played by Tāmralipti or Tamluk as an important port for the sea-borne trade between India and the Archipelago associates Bengal with the Far East in ancient days. These Śailēndras were staunch Buddhists to whom all the magnificent Buddhist buildings which we find in Central Java owe their origin. Now, the question is whether they were emigrants from India or were indigenous people of Java-Sumatra, who embraced Buddhism in preference to Hinduism. The *Yūpa* inscriptions of King Mūla-varman from Koetei or East Borneo or other early epigraphical records from Champā, Cambodia or Indo-China would show that India has had a considerable share in the colonization of the Far East. The *Yūpa* inscriptions inform us that the erection of the sacrificial posts on which they are engraved was due to the twice-born priests or Brāhmaṇas, who had carried their ancient civilization and religion to Borneo, as well as, to Java and Sumatra and that on these priests King Mūlavarmman conferred rich grants of gold and land; a fact showing that as early as about 400 A. D. high caste Brāhmaṇas migrated to the Far East and settled there. Fa-Hian found Brāhmaṇas settled in *Ye-poti* (Java or perhaps Sumatra). Sumatran civilization or culture seems to be of Hindu origin. Sumatra was probably the first of all the Archipelago to receive emigrants from India. The names like Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, by which some of the tribes that have settled in West Sumatra are known, and the fact that emigrants from India are designated by the term Keling or Kling, which is clearly derived from Kaliṅga, would show that Southern India, including the Telugu country, had ample share in the colonization of the island or the Far East. The matrimonial alliance mentioned in the Nālandā charter, which the father of Bālaputradēva had with a mighty king of the lunar race, would indicate that India might have been the original land of the Śailēndras of Java-Sumatra. The term *Sailēndra* signifies the lord of mountains and is too general. No dynasty of this name is known to have existed in India. As I have stated in my previous paper, the name of Malaiyamān, which is an exact Tamiḷ rendering of the Sanskrit word Śailēndra, meaning 'the lord of mountain or mountains', is to be met with in some of the inscriptions discovered in the South Arcot and Salem districts of the Madras Presidency where it is applied to some chieftains, who flourished about the 10th century A. D. Tamil literature, however, knows of the Malaimāns, who might be attributed to the 7th or 8th centuries A. D. These chieftains were called *Milāḍuḍaiyar* or the rulers of Milāḍu, a contracted form of Malaiya-*nāḍu*, and they claimed connection with the Chēdi family. But there is no data available to connect these people with the Śailēndras. It is noteworthy that sometimes their names ended in *varmman* as did the names of the Śailēndras of Java-Sumatra or of Śrīvijaya. In the Nālandā copper-plate inscrip-

tion, on the other hand, the name of the Śailēndra king ends in *dēva*. The name Bālaputra itself, signifying 'young son', is curious. This ending of *dēva* occurs only in the prose and formal portion but not in the other or metrical portion, which describes and eulogises these Śailēndras. This would suggest that the suffix was left out because it did not form an integral part of the name and would have been replaced by *varmman*, a general suffix or surname of the ruling caste of the Kshatriyas. The name, however, is pure Sanskrit as is the name of Tārā, the mother of Bālaputradēva, or of Dharmasētu, her father, and would point to emigration from India. Had the names of the two ancestors of Bālaputradēva, that is to say, his father and grandfather been given, we could be definite in the matter. The Sanskritic names might have been taken after conversion to Hinduism, or rather Buddhism. This we see in the case of *Kuṇḍuṅga*, his son *Aśvavarman* and grandson *Mūlavarman* of Borneo. But in none of the names of the Śailēndras do we find any foreign sound, *i.e.*, non-Indian, which could suggest that they were the natives of the island originally and came into the fold of Buddhism afterwards.

The vague manner in which the inscription describes the rulers of the Far East or Sumatra-Java without even naming the king of the lunar race would show that its author did not know much of them. He knew of Bālaputradēva and his mother Tārā as they were directly concerned—the *dūtaka* was there to name them. As to the gift, the villages Nandivanāka and Maṇivāṭaka were situated in the Ajapura-*naya* (subdivision), Naṭikā in the Pilipiṅkā and Hastigrāma in the Achalā-*naya* of the Rājagṛiha *vishaya* and that Pālāmaka was situated in the Kumudasūtra-*vīthī*, a subdivision of the Gayā district. If similarity of sound can be depended on, I would propose the following identifications to which proximity of Nālandā will lend a great support. The Ajapura '*naya*' or subdivision of the inscription may possibly be represented by the Ajaipur[1] village in the Ajai Hisse Chahāram Mauza in the Bihār Thāna and the two villages Nandivanāka and Maṇivāṭaka, would be the Nediune or Naunven and Manianwan village of these days, which are included in the Bihār Thāna. Pilipiṅka I am inclined to identify with the Pilkhi or Pilke Mauza and the Naṭikā village with the Nai Pokhar of to-day, both lying in the Silao Thanā. Though I am unable to offer any identification for the ancient Achala yet, I fancy, the village Hasti or Hastigrāma of the grant might be the Hethea Bīghā village of the Bihār Thāna if not the Hathi Tola of the Maner Police subdivision. The old village directory[2] of the Gayā district does not give any name resembling the Kumudasūtra or the Pālāmaka of our record.

In connection with these place-names, it is interesting to note that our document supplies one or two territorial terms, which appear to be new. The term *maṇḍala*, as I have remarked above, is here used, in the sense of *dēśa*, of which *vishaya* was a subdivision. The word *vīthī* which generally signifies a market, road-way or the like, appears to have been used in this charter in the sense of a division smaller than *vishaya*. Similarly the term *naya* seems to imply a like

[1] Village Directory of the Presidency of Bengal, Vol. XXVI (Patna District).
[2] Village Directory of the Presidency of Bengal, Vol. XXVII (Gaya District.)

division. The use of these terms would show that *bhukti* was divided into *maṇḍalas* which were subdivided into *vishayas*, the latter being again portioned into *vīthīs* or *nayas*. It is noteworthy that our document employs the term *naya* in the case of Rājagṛiha *vishaya* and *vīthī* in the case of Gayā *vishaya*. The former occurs regularly after (1) Ajapura, (2) Pilipiṅkā and (3) Achalā, which lay in the district or *vishaya* of Rājagṛiha, while the latter term is to be found in connection with the district or *vishaya* of Gayā only. This would indicate that in the two *vishayas* although very contiguous, different subdivisions were made for revenue purposes, Rājagṛiha being subdivided into *nayas* and Gayā into *vīthīs*. Thus, we can say that the villages Nandivanāka and Maṇivāṭaka lay in the subdivision or *naya* of Ajapura, Naṭikā in the *naya* of Achala, all these falling within the Rājagṛiha *vishaya*. The village of Pālāmaka, on the other hand, which belonged to the district or *vishaya* of Gayā, lay in the subdivision of Kumudasūtra, *i.e.*, Kumudasūtra-*vīthī*. As remarked above some of these place-names occur in the legends on the seals of Nālandā.

## Text.

*Obverse.*

1 Oṁ svasti | Siddhārthasya parārtha-susthita-matēs=san-mārgam=a[bhya]-
2 syatas=siddhis=siddhim=anuttarāṁ bhagavatas=tasya prajāsu kriyā-
t[|*] yas=traidhātuka-satva(ttva)-siddhi-padavīr=aty-ugra-vīry-ōdayāj=jitvā
4 nirvṛitim=āsasāda Sugatas=sarvārtha[1]-bhūm-īśvaraḥ[||1||*] Saubhāgyan=dadha-
5 d=atulaṁ Śriyas=sapatnyā Gōpālaḥ patir=abhavad=vasundharāyāḥ [|*]
6 dṛishṭānte sati kṛitināṁ su-rājñi yasmin śraddhēyāḥ Pṛithu-Sagar-ādayō=py=abhūvan [||2||*] Vijitya yen=ā-jaladhēr=vvasundharām(ṁ) vimōchitā
7 mōgha-parigrahā iti | sa-bāshpam=udbāshpa-vilochanān punar=vanēshu v(b)a-ndhūn dadṛiśur=mmataṅgajāḥ ||[3||*] Chalatsv=anantēshu v(b)alēshu yasya viśvambharā-
8 yā nichitaṃ rajōbhiḥ || pāda-prachāra-kshamam=antariksham(ṁ) vihaṅgamā-nāṁ suchiraṁ v(b)abhūva ||[4||*] Śāstr-ārtha-bhājā chalatō=nuśāsya varṇṇān pratishṭhāpaya-
9 tā svadharmmē | śrī-Dharmapālēna sutēna sō=bhūt=svargga-sthitānām=anṛiṇaḥ pitṛīṇām || [5||*] Achalair=iva jaṅgamair=yadīyair=vichaladbhir=dviradaiḥ kadarthyamānā |
10 nirupaplvam=amv(b)araṁ prapēdē śaraṇaṁ rēṇu-nibhēna bhūtadhātrī [|| 6||*] Kēdārē vidhin=ōpayukta-payasāṁ Gaṅgā-samētēmv(b)udhau | Gōkarṇṇ-ādishu ch=āpy=anushṭhi-
11 tavatān=tīrthēshu dharmyāḥ kriyāḥ [|*] bhṛityānāṁ sukham=ēva yasya sakalān=uddhṛitya dushṭān=imān(āṁ)=(1)lōkān=sādhayatō=nushaṅga-janitā siddhiḥ paratr=ā-
12 py=abhūt || [7||*] Tais=tair=dig-vijay-āvasāna-samayē saṁprēshitānāṁ paraiḥ satkārair=apanīya khēdam=akhilaṁ svāṁ svāṁ gatānām=bhuvam(ṁ) [|*] kṛityaṁ bhāvayatāṁ

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[1] [Majumdar reads correctly *Sugatas=san=sarvva-bhūmīśvaraḥ*.—Ed.]

13 yadīyam=uchitaṁ prītyā nṛipāṇām=abhūt s-ōtkaṇṭhaṁ hṛidayan=divaś=chyuta-vatāṁ jāti-smarāṇām=iva || [8||*] **Śrī-Parav(b)alasya** duhituḥ kshitipatinā **Rā-**

14 **shṭrakūṭa**-tilakasya | **Raṇṇādēvyāḥ** pāṇir=jagṛihē gṛihamēdhinā tēna || [9||*] Dhṛita-tanur=iyaṁ Lakshmīḥ sākshāt kshitir=nu śarīriṇī kim=avani-patēḥ kīrttir=mū-

15 rtt=āthavā gṛiha-dēvatā [|*] iti vidadhatī śuchy-āchā[rā*] vitarkavatīḥ prajāḥ prakṛiti-gurubhir=yā śuddhāntaṁ=guṇair=akarōd=adhaḥ || [10||*] Ślāghyā pra(pa)tivrat=āsau mu-

16 ktā-ratnaṁ samudra-śuktir=iva | śrī-**Dēvapāladēvam**=prasanna-vaktraṁ sutam=asūta || [11||*] Nirmmalō manasi vāchi saṁyataḥ kārya-karmman(ṇ)i cha yaḥ sthitaḥ śuchau [|*]

17 rājyam=āpa nirupaplavam=pitur=V(B)ōdhisatva iva Saugataṁ padaṁ || [12||*] Bhrāmyadbhir=vijaya-kramēṇa karibhis=tām=ēva Vindhyāṭavīm=uddāma-plavamāna-v(b)āshpa-paya-

18 sō dṛishṭāḥ punar=v(b)andhavaḥ [|*] Kamvō(mbo)jēshu cha yasya vāji-yu[va*]bhir=dhvast-ānya-rāj-aujasō hēshā-miśrita-hāri-hēshita-ravāḥ kāntāś=chira-prīṇitāḥ || [13||*] Yaḥ pūrvaṁ Bali-

19 nā kṛitaḥ kṛita-yugē yēn=āgamad=Bhārgavas=tretāyāṁ prahataḥ priya-praṇa-yinā Karṇṇēna yō dvāparē | vichchhinnaḥ Kalinā Śaka-dvishi gatē kālēna lōk-ānta-

20 raṁ yēna tyāga-pathas=sa ēva hi punar=vispashṭam=unmīlitaḥ || [14||*] Ā Gaṅg-āgama-mahitāt=sapatna-śūnyām=ā sētu(ōḥ) prathita-Daśāsya-kētu-kīrttēḥ [|*]urvvīm=ā Varuṇa-

21 nikētanāch=cha Sindhōr=ā Lakshmī-kula-bhavanāch=cha yō vu(bu)bhōja || [15||*] Sa khalu Bhāgirathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-saṁ-pādita-sētu-v(b)andha-nihita-[śai]-

22 la-śikhara-śrēṇi-vibhramāt niratiśaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭā-śyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakshmī-samāravdha(bdha)-saṁtata-jaladasamaya-sandēhāt(d)=udīchīn-ānēka-

23 narapati-prābhṛitīkṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūlī-dhūsarita-digantarālāt Paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āśēsha-Jamv(b)ū-dvī-

24 pa-bhūpāla-pādāta-bhara-namad-avanēḥ **śri-Mudgagiri**-samāvāsita-śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt Parama-Saugata-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ma-

25 hārājādhirāja-**śri-Dharmapāladēva**-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Parama-Saugataḥ Paramēś-varaḥ Paramabhaṭṭārakō Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān=**Dēvapāladēvaḥ**

26 kuśalī | śrī-**Nagara-bhuktau Rājagṛiha-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Ajapura-naya-**prati-baddha-sva-samv(b)addh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpēta | **Nandivanāka** | **Maṇi-**

27 **vāṭaka** | **Pilipiṅkā-naya**-prativ(b)addha-**Naṭikā** | **Achalā-naya**-pratibaddha-**Ha[sti]-grāma** | **Gayā-vishay**-āntaḥpāti-**Kumudasūtra-vīthī**-pratibaddha-**Pālāma**—

28 **ka**-grāmēshu | samupāgatāṁ(tān) sarvvān=ēva Rāja-Rāṇaka | Rājaputra | Rājāmātya | Mahākārttākṛitika | Mahādaṇḍanāyaka | Mahāpratīhāra | **Mahā-**

29 sāmanta | Mahādauḥsādhasādhanika | Mahākumārā[mā*]tya [|*] Pramātṛi | Śarabhaṅga [|*] Rājasthānīy-ōparika | Vishayapati [|*] Dāśāparādhika | Chaur-ōddhara-

30 ṇika | Dāṇḍika [|*] Dāṇḍapāśika [|*] Śaulkika Ga[u]-lmika | Kshētrapāla Kōṭapāla | Khaṇḍaraksha [|*] Tadāyuktaka | Viniyuktaka | hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-nau-v(b)ala-vyāpṛi-

31 taka [|*] kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-adhikṛita | Dūta-prai[sha]ṇika | Gamāgamika | Abhitvaramāṇaka | Tarika | Tarapatika | Ōd(ḍ)ra[1]-Mālava-Khaśa-Kulika | Karṇṇā-

32 ṭa | [Hū]ṇa-chāṭa-bha[ṭa]-sēvak-ādīn=anyāṁś=ch=ākīrttitān sva-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinaḥ prativāsinaś=cha Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān mahattama-kuṭumv(b)i-purōga-mēd-āndhra-

33 ka | chaṇḍāla-paryantān samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōparilikhita-svasamv(b)addh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpēta-Nandivanāka-grāma | Maṇivāṭa-

34 ka-grāma | Naṭikā-grāma | Hasti-grāma | Pālāmaka-grāmāḥ sva-sīmā-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantāḥ sa-talāḥ s-ōddēśāḥ s-āmra-madhūkāḥ sa-jala-stha-

35 lāḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sa-daś-āparādhāḥ sa-chaur-ōddharaṇāḥ parihṛita-sarvva-pīḍāḥ | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśā a-kiñchit-pragrā[hyā] rāja-kulīya-

36 samasta-pratyāya-samētā bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ pūrvva-datta-bhukta-bhujyamāna-dēva-v(b)rahma-dēya-varjitāḥ mayā

37 mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē || **Suva[rṇṇa]-dvīp**-ādhipa-ma[hā]rāja-śrī-**Vā(Bā)laputradēvēna** dūtaka-mukhēna vayam=vijñāpitāḥ yathā

38 mayā śrī-Nālandāyām(ṁ) vihāraḥ kāritas=tatra Bhagavatō V(b)uddha-bhaṭṭārakasya Prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-dharmma-nētrī-sthānasy=āy-ārthē ta-

39 tra(i)ka[2]-V(B)ōdhisatva-gaṇasy=āshṭa-mahā-purusha-pudgalasya chatur-ddiś-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya v(b)ali-charu-satra-chīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayan-āsana-glāna-pratyaya-bhē-

40 shajy-ādy-arthaṁ dharma-ratnasya lēkhan-ādy-arthaṁ vihārasya cha khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān-ārthaṁ śāsanīkṛitya pratipāditaḥ(tāḥ) [|*] Yatō bhavadbhiḥ sarvair=ēva

41 bhūmēr=dāna-phala-gauravād=apaharaṇē cha mahā-naraka-pāt-ādi-bhayād=dānam=ida[m=a-]bhyanumōdya pālanīyaṁ | prativāsibhir=apy=ājñā-śra-

42 vaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā yathā-kālaṁ samuchita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kārya iti || Sam(ṁ)vat 39 K[ā*]rttika dinē 21.

*Reverse.*

43 Tathā cha dharmānuśansa(śaṁsi)naḥ ślōkāḥ [|*] V(B)ahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ

44 Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [16 ||*]

45 Svadattām=paradattām=vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(m) | sa vishṭā(ṭhā)yāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ

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[1] [Majumdar reads *Gauḍa* correctly.—Ed.]

[2] [Majumdar reads *dharma-nētrī-sthānasy=ārch-ārthē tā(ta)traka.*—Ed.]

46 saha pachyatē || [17 ||*] Shashṭim(ṁ) varsha-sahasrāṇi s[v]argē mōdati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva

47 narakē vaset || [18 ||*] Anya-dattāṁ dvi-jātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahīṁ mahībhṛitāṁ śrēshṭha dā-

48 nāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ || [19 ||*] Asmat-kula-kramam=udāram=udā[ha]radbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyanumōdanīyaṁ | Lakshmyās=taḍit-salila-v(b)udv(b)uda-[chaṁ-]

49 chalāyā dānaṁ phalaṁ para-yaśaḥ-paripālanaṁ cha || [20 ||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmv(b)u-v(b)indu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha [|*] sakalam=i-

50 dam=udāhṛitaṁ cha v(b)u[d*]dhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [21 ||*] Dakshiṇa-bhuja iva rājñaḥ para-v(b)ala-dalanē sahāya-nirapēkshaḥ [|*]

51 dūtyaṁ śrī-**V(B)alavarmmā** vidadhē dharmmādhikārē=smin || [22 ||*] Asmin dharmm-ārambhē dūtyaṁ śrī-**Dēvapāladēvasya** | vidadhē śrī-V(B)ala-varmmā **Vyāghrataṭī**-maṇḍal-ādhipatiḥ || [23 ||*]

52 Āsid=aśēsha-narapāla-vilōla-mauli-mālā-maṇi-dyuti-viv(b)ōdhita-pāda-padmaḥ [|*] Śailēndra-vaṁśa-tilakō **Yava-bhūmipālaḥ** śrī-**Vīra-Vairimathan-**

53 ānugat[1]-ābhidhānaḥ || [24 ||*] Harmya-sthalēshu kumudēshu mṛiṇālinīshu śaṅkh-ēndu-kunda-tuhinēshu padan=dadhānā | niḥśēsha-diṅ-mukha-nirantara-lav(b)dha-gītiḥ(r)=

54 mūrtt=ēva yasya bhuvanāni jagāma kīrttiḥ || [25 ||*] Bhrū-bhaṅgē bhavati nṛipasya yasya kōpān=ni[rbhin]nāḥ saha hṛidayair=dvishāṁ śriyō-pi | vakrāṇām=i-

55 ha hi parōpaghāta-dakshā jāyantē jagati bhṛisha(śa)ṅ=gati-prakārāḥ || [26 ||*] Tasy-ābhavan=naya-parākrama-śīla-śālī rājēndra-mauli-śata-durllaḷit-āṅghri-

56 yugmaḥ | sūnur=Yudhishṭhira-Parāśara-Bhīmasēna-Karṇṇ-Ārjjun-ārjjita-yaśāḥ Samarāgravīraḥ || [27 ||*] Uddhūtam=amv(b)ara-talād=yudhi sañcharantyā yat-sēnay=āvani-rajaḥ-pa-

57 ṭalaṁ pad-ōttham[2] | karṇṇ-ānilēna kariṇāṁ śanakam(ṁ) vitīrṇṇair=gaṇḍasthalī-mada-jalaiḥ śamayāmv(b)abhūva | [| 28 ||*] A-kṛishṇa-paksham=ēv=ēdam=abhūd=bhuvana-maṇḍalaṁ(m) |

58 kulan=daityādhipasy=ēva yad-yaśōbhir=anāratam(m) || [29 ||*] Paulōm=īvā Surādhipasya viditā Saṅkalpayōnēr=iva Prītiḥ Śailasut=ēva Manmathari-

59 pōr=Llakshmīr=Murārēr=iva | rājñaḥ Sōma-kul-ānvayasya mahataḥ śrī-**Dharma-sētōḥ**[3] sutā tasy=ābhūd=avanībhujō='gramahishī tār=ēva **Tār-**āhvayā || [30 ||*] Māyā-

60 yām=iva Kāmadēvavijayī Śuddhōdanasy=ātmajaḥ Skandō nandita-dēva-vṛinda-hṛidayaḥ Śambhōr=Umāyām=iva | tasyān=tasya narēndra-vṛinda-vinamat-pād-āravi-

61 nd-āsanaḥ sarvv-ōrvvīpati-garvva-kharvaṇa-chaṇaḥ śrī-**V((B)ālaputrō**='bhavat || [31*] **Nālandā**-guṇa-vṛinda-luv(b)dha-manasā bhaktyā cha Śauddhōdanēr=v(b)u[d*]dhvā śaila-sarit-taraṅga-taralāṁ

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1 [Majumdar reads *-āvagat.*—Ed.]

2 [Majumdar correctly reads *paṭīyaḥ.*—Ed.]

3 [Majumdar reads *Varmasētōḥ* which is correct.—Ed.]

62 Lakshmīm=imāṁ kshōbhanām | yas=tēn=ōnnata-sau[dha]-dhāma-dhavalaḥ saṅgh-ārtha-mittra-śriyā nānā-sad-guṇa-bhikshu-saṅgha-vasatis=tasyām(ṁ) vihāraḥ kṛitaḥ || [32 ||*] Bhaktyā

63 tatra samasta-śatru-vanitā-vaidhavya-dīkshā-guruṁ kṛitvā śāsanam=āhit-ādara-tayā samprārthya dūtair=asau | grāmāṁ(n) pañcha vipañchit-ōpari-yath-ōddēśā-

64 n=imān=ātmanaḥ pitrō[r=llō]ka-hit-ōdayāya cha dadau śrī-Dēvapālaṁ nṛi-paṁ(m) || [33 ||*] Yāvat=sindhōḥ prav(b)andhaḥ pṛithula-Hara-jaṭā-kshō-bhit-āṅgā cha Gaṅgā gurvvīṁ

65 dhattē phaṇīndraḥ pratidinam=achalō hēlayā yāvad=urvvīṁ | yāvach=ch=āst-ōday-ādrī ravi-turaga-khur-ōdghṛishṭa-chūḍamaṇī stas=tāvat=sat-kīrttir=ēshā prabhava-

66 tu jagatām(ṁ) sat-kriyā rōpayantī || [34 ||*]

## Translation.[1]

(Ll. 26-33) In the śrī Nagara-*bhukti*, at the villages falling within the district (*vishaya*) of Rājagṛiha, namely, Nandivanāka and Maṇivāṭaka, which come within the territorial subdivision (*naya*) of Ajapura, together with the undivided lands connected therewith; Naṭikā which comes within the subdivision (*naya*) of Pilipiṅkā and Hastigrāma which comes within the subdivision (*naya*) of Achalā and the village of Pālāmaka which comes under the subdivision (*vīthī*) of Kumudasūtra (or Kumudasunu) that falls within the limits of the district (*vishaya*) of Gayā, Dēvapāladēva, being in good health, issues commands to all the persons who have assembled here, the *Rājarāṇaka*, the *Rājaputraka*, the *Rājāmātya*, the *Mahākārttākṛitika*, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahādauḥsādhasādhanika*, the *Mahākumārāmātya*, the *Pramātṛi*, the *Śarabhaṅga*, the *Rājasthānīya*, the *Uparika*, the *Vishayapati*, the *Dāśāparādhika*, the *Chaurōddharaṇika*, the *Dāṇḍika*, the *Dāṇḍapāśika*, the *Śaulk-ika*, the *Gaulmika*, the *Kshētrapāla*, the *Kōṭapāla*, the *Khaṇḍaraksha*, the *Tadā-yuktaka*, the *Viniyuktaka*, the *Hastyaśvōshṭranaubalavyāpṛitaka*, the *Kiśōra-vaḍa-vā-gō-mahishyadhikṛita*, the *Dūtapraishaṇika*, the *Gamāgamika*, the *Abhitvara-māṇaka*, the *Tarika*, the *Tarapatika*, the *Oḍras* (men from Orissa)[2] the *Mālavas*, the *Khaśas*, the *Kulikas*, the *Karṇṇāṭas*, the *Hūṇas* the *Chāṭas* (or village officers), the *Bhaṭas*, the servants and others dependent on his lotus-feet, who are not named here, and the residents the *Brāhmaṇōttaras*, the village-elders, house-holders, the *purōgas*, the *Mēdas*, the Āndhrakas down to the *Chaṇḍālas*:

(Ll. 33-37) "Be it known to you that the above mentioned villages, namely, the village of Nandivanāka, the village of Maṇivāṭaka, the village of Naṭikā, the village of Hasti (or Hastigrāma) and the village of Pālāmaka, together with the undivided lands attached to them, unbroken up to their boundaries, grass and pasture-lands, with their grounds, places, mango and *madhūka* (Bassia Latifolia) trees, with their water and dry lands, *uparikaras*, *daśāparādhas*,

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[1] For lines 1-25 see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, pp. 257-258.

[2] [Gauḍas as correctly pointed out by Majumdar.—Ed.]

*chaurōddharaṇas*, free from all troubles, exempt from the entry of the *chāṭas* village officers), and *bhaṭas*, with all taxes due to the king's family or court, with nothing of these to be recovered, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhidra*, to last as long as the moon and the sun and the earth shall endure, excluding the gifts to gods and the *Brāhmaṇas*, which were granted before and were enjoyed or are being enjoyed,

(Ll. 37-42) are granted by us for the increase of the spiritual merit and glory of our parents and of ourself—We being requested by the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Bālaputradēva,** the king of **Suvarṇṇadvīpa,** through a messenger: "I have caused to be built a monastery at Nālandā" granted by this edict toward the income for the blessed Lord Buddha, the abode of all the leading virtues like the *prajñāpāramitā*[1], for the offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, alms, beds, the requisites of the sick like medicines, etc., of the assembly of the venerable *bhikshus* of the four quarters (*comprising*) the Bōdhisattvas well versed in the *tantras*, and the eight great holy personages (*i.e.*, the *ariya-puggalas*)[2], for writing the *dharma-ratnas* or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery (when) damaged; therefore, this grant should be approved and preserved by all of you out of regard for the merit of protecting gifts of land and because in the confiscation of the same there is a fear of falling into the great hell and the like. The residents also should be obedient to the order on hearing it and should bring to the donees at the proper time the due revenues such as *bhāgabhōgakara*, gold, etc." **Saṁvat (year 39), Kārttika, day 21.**

(Ll. 43-50) In pursuance thereof are the (following) verses (Nos. 16-21) announcing duties (regarding grants).

(V. 22) The illustrious **Balavarmman** who was the right hand of the king, as it were, and who never depended on (others') help for crushing hostile forces, acted as messenger in this religious function.

(V. 23) In this religious undertaking **Balavavarmman,** the illustrious ruler of the **Vyāghrataṭī**-maṇḍala, acted as a messenger of the illustrious (Emperor) **Dēvapāladēva.**

(V. 24) There was a king of **Yavabhūmi** (or **Java**), who was the ornament of the **Śailēndra** dynasty, whose lotus-feet bloomed by the lustre of the jewels in the row of trembling diadems, on the heads of all the princes, and who, as his name showed was the illustrious tormentor of the brave foes[3] (*vīra-vairi-mathana*).

(V. 25) His fame, incarnate, as it were, by setting its foot on the regions of (white) palaces, in white water-lilies, in lotus plants, conches, moon, jasmine and snow and being incessantly sung in all the quarters, pervaded the whole universe.

(V. 26) At the time when that king frowned in anger, the fortunes of the enemies also broke down simultaneously with their hearts. Indeed the crooked

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[1] [Majumdar translates: 'for the worship at the aforesaid place, of the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, who is the eye of all the Virtues including *Prajñāpāramitā*'.—Ed.]

[2] [Majumdar translates: 'in respect of the Bōdhisattvas (installed) there and the Community of Buddhist monks from the Four quarters, comprising the Eight classes of great personages.'—Ed.]

[3] [Majumdar takes *Vīravairimathana* to be a proper name.—Ed.]

ones in the world have got ways of moving which are very ingenious in striking others.

(V. 27) He had a son, who possessed prudence, prowess, and good conduct, whose two feet fondled much with hundreds of diadems of mighty kings (bowing down). He was the foremost warrior in battle-fields and his fame was equal to that earned by Yudhishṭhira, Parāśara, Bhīmasēna, Karṇa and Arjuna.

(V. 28) The multitude of the dust of the earth raised by the feet of his army, moving in the field of battle, was first blown up to the sky by the wind, produced by the (moving) ears of the elephants, and, then slowly settled down on the earth (*again*) by the ichor, poured forth from the cheeks of the elephants.

(V. 29) By the continuous existence of whose fame the world was altogether without the dark fortnight, just like the family of the lord of the *daityas* (demons) was without the partisanship of Kṛishṇa.

(V. 30) As Paulōmī was known to be (the wife of) the lord of the *Suras* (*i.e.*, Indra) Prīti, the wife of the mind-born (Cupid), the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī), of the enemy of Cupid (*i.e.*, Śiva) and Lakshmī of the enemy of Mura (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) so **Tārā** was the queen consort of that king, and was the daughter of the great ruler **Dharmasētu**[1] of the lunar race and resembled Tārā (the Buddhist goddess of this name) herself.

(V. 31) As the son of Śuddhōdana (*i.e.*, the Buddha) the conqueror of Kāmadēva, was born of Māyā and Skanda, who delighted the heart of the host of gods, was born of Umā by Śiva, so was born of her by that king the illustrious Bālaputra, who was expert in crushing the pride of all the rulers of the world, and before whose foot-stool (the seat where his lotus-feet rested) the groups of princes bowed.

(V. 32) With the mind attracted by the manifold excellences of Nālandā and through devotion to the son of Śuddhōdana (the Buddha) and having realised that riches were fickle like the waves of a mountain stream, he whose fame was like that of Saṅghārthamitra, built there (at Nālandā) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with the series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings.

(V. 33) Having requested, King **Dēvapāladēva,** who was the preceptor for initiating into widowhood the wives of all the enemies, through envoys, very respectfully and out of devotion and issuing a charter, (*he*) granted these five villages, whose purpose has been noticed above for the welfare of himself, his parents and the world.

(V. 34) As long as there is the continuance of the ocean, or the Ganges has her limbs (the currents of water) agitated by the extensive plaited hair of Hara (Śiva), as long as the immovable king of snakes (Śēsha) lightly bears the heavy and extensive earth every day and as long as the Eastern (*Udaya*) and Western (*Asta*) mountains have their crest jewels scratched by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun, so long may this meritorious act, setting up virtues over the world, endure.

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[1] [Correctly *Varmasētu*.—Ed.]

## Inscription on the Bas-relief of Ashṭa-Śakti.

This inscription was noticed by Cunningham in one of his well-known reports under the heading 'Bas-relief of Ashṭa-Śakti' and was subsequently edited by Dr. Vogel with a facsimile in 1903-04.[1] The bas-relief which bears it must have originated from Nālandā evidently. Perhaps it was found along with the image of Vāgīśvarī in the collection at Kapaṭiyā. Subsequently, it went to Benares and thence to Lucknow where it is now preserved in the Provincial Museum. The inscription reads as :—

Ōṁ śrī-Nalanda-śri-Dhamrahaṭṭē dē[ya*]dha[r*]mō apratipalīta Śaigīrīkasya(Śauvīrikasya) Dakhi(ksha)kasya.

## An Undated Praśasti from Nālandā.

(Pl. XI, *e.*)

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha (the Vajrāsana of the inscription) and measures 9·3″×1·7″. The pedestal looks to be bronze. The inscription is written in Sanskrit verse in characters resembling those of the records of Dēvapāladēva noticed above. There are four lines of well-engraved writing in it. Some of the letters are damaged. The record is not dated and does not ascribe itself to any king. It praises a monk named Mañjuśrīvarmman of the Sarvāstivādin school and consists of two verses one of which is written in the *Sragdharā* metre and the other in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.* It reads :—

Line 1 Āsīd=dhyān-aikatānaḥ śuchir=uchita-[tapō]-dhāmadhīmān=udāraḥ śrī-Nālandā[2] × bhikshur=yati-jana-tilakaḥ kshāntimān

2 śīla-śālī | Mañjuśrīvarmma-nāmā × × × × bhuvanē nirvṛitiṁ sad-guṇānām[3]–ālamva[ba]-stambha-bhūtaṁ Sugatam=iva kṛitī ni-

3 rmmamē yaṁ vidhātā | [|*] Śrēyō-yāna-parāyaṇēna dadhatā Sarvāstivādē padaṁ sa[tvā(ttvā)]nām=bhava-duḥkha-magna-vapushāṁ sarvvajñat=ā-

4 vāptayē [|*] tēn=āśēsha-sur-āsur-ādhipa-śirō-ratna-prabhā-rañjita-śrīmat-pāda-nakh-ēndu......[4]vajrāsanaḥ kāritaḥ ||

These verses tell us that the Sthavira Mañjuśrīvarmā was a great *bhikshu* of Nālandā, who was a very pious abode of excellences and a *Sarvāstivādin.*

## The stone Inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra.

This inscription has already been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*[5] where a detailed notice of its contents has been given. It is a record of some benefactions made by a monk named **Vipulaśrīmitra** who came after the monk Aśōkaśrīmitra who was the disciple's disciple of Maitrīśrīmitra, the most intelligent and religious disciple of Karuṇāśrīmitra. The latter according to this

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[1] See *An. Rep. A. S. I.* 1903-04, page 219, plate lxiv, No. 2; and *Annual Progress Report, Northern Circle,* Lahore, 1904-05, List of inscriptions, No. 96.

[2] [I would read *Nālandīya.*—Ed.]

[3] [Reading is *gatavati Sugatē nirvritiṁ tad-guṇānām-*.—Ed.]

[4] [Reading is *-ēndur=ēsha bhagavān=.*—Ed.]

[5] Vol. XXI, pp. 98 f. and plate.

inscription (verse 2) was a great monk of **Sōmapura** who was burnt to death in a house which was set on fire by a Bengal army that had arrived there. Why that army came to Sōmapura, why did it burn the house or the monk and whose army it was the inscription does not give any information. Apparently the army or the personage who kept it was anti-Buddhist and the house where Karuṇaśrīmitra resided was consigned to flames owing to some religious animosity.

The record mentions a few localities where some offerings and foundations were made but it does not give their whereabouts. Vipulaśrīmitra, the record tells us, set up an image of the mother of the Jinas (*i.e.*, Tārā) in the great temple of Khasarpaṇa,[1] performed wonderful masonry work in the monastery of Pitāmaha at Chōyaṇḍaka and set up an image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in the city of Harsha. Pitāmaha is probably meant for Buddha, if not for Avalōkitēśvara. The inscription further informs us that Vipulaśrīmitra constructed a temple of Tāriṇī which beautified Śālahrada, did a good deal of masonry work at Sōmapura, gave beautiful ornaments of gold to the Buddha and built a splendid monastery which was made over to the *Mitras* (*i.e.*, the Mitra-monks) and where an image of the Buddha was set up (lit. where the Lord of the three worlds used to live for getting his abode in the heavens).

The record is a *praśasti* which was composed by Kanaka and Vaśishṭha who were very much liked by the people for their knowledge of *Tarka* and *Śilpa*.

## Text.

1 Ōṁ namō V(B)uddhāya || Astu svastyayanāya vaḥ sa bhagavān śrī-Dharmmachakraḥ kiyad=yan-nāma śrutavān=bhavō=’sthira-vapur=nirjīvam=uttāmyati | tatra Śrīghana-śāsan-āmṛita-rasaiḥ saṁsichya

2 v(b)auddhē padē taṁ dhēyād=apunarbhavaṁ bhagavatī Tārā jagat-tāriṇī ||[1*] Śrīmat-Sōmapurē v(b)a[bhū]va Karuṇāśrīmitra-nāmā yatiḥ kāruṇyād=guṇa-saṁpadō hita-sukh-ādhānād=api prāṇi-

3 nāṁ | yō Vaṅgāla-v(b)alair=upētya dahana-kshēpāj=jvalaty=ālayē saṁlagnaś=charaṇ-āravinda-yugalē V(B)uddhasya yātō divaṁ || [2*] Tasy=āchchhidra-vrata-parichitasy=ōchita-smēra-kīrttēḥ śishyō=’dhṛishyaḥ

4 sukṛita-ghaṭitō v(b)uddhimān v(b)uddhimatsu | Maitrīśrīr=ity=upari viditō mitravat mitra-nāmā satvasy=ārthē svam=udayam=upāditsur=utsāhavān yaḥ || [3*] Praśishyō=py=anvishy=āśraya-

5 m=alabhamānair=iva guṇair=adhītaḥ saṁślishṭō yatir=amala-śīlaḥ samábhavat | Aśōkaśrīmitrō guṇa-samudayē yasya hṛidayē sahasrair=ashṭābhiḥ prativasati saṁv(b)uddha-jana

6 nī || [4*] Tad-anu cha Vipulaśrīmitra ity=āvirāsīd=vipula-vimala-kīrttiḥ saj-janānanda-kandaḥ | amṛita-[ma]ya-kalābhiḥ kshālit-āśēsha-dōshaḥ satatam-upachita-śrīḥ śuklapa-

7 kshē śaś=īva ||[5*] Śrīmat-Khasarppaṇa-mah-āyatanē prayatnāt mañjūshayā vihitayā jananī jinānāṁ | yēna bhramaty=aviratam pratimāś=chatasraḥ sattrēshu parvvaṇi samarppayati sma

[1] For the Sādhanas of Khasarpaṇa see *Sādhanamālā*, pp. 36, 38, etc.

8 yaś=cha || [6*] Chōyaṇḍakē yaś=cha pitāmahasya vīhārikāyāṁ navakarmma-chitraṁ | Harsh-ābhidhānē cha purē jinasya Dīpaṅkarasya pratimāṁ vyadhatta || [7*] Ashṭau yaś=cha mahābhayāni jaga-

9 tāṁ nirmūlam=unmūlituṁ Tāriṇyā bhavanaṁ vyadhatta sukṛitī Śālahrad-ālaṁkṛitiṁ | śrīmat-Sōmapurē chaturshu layanēshv=antar-v(b)ahiḥ-khaṇḍayōr=yaś=ch=ādhatta navīna-karmma jagatāṁ

10 nētr-aika-viśrāma-bhūḥ || [8*] Adatta hēm-ābharaṇaṁ vichitraṁ V(B)uddhāya v(b)ōdhau janatāṁ vidhātuṁ | ity-ādi-puṇya-kriyayā sa kālaṁ vaś=īva dīrghaṁ nayati sma tatra || [9*] Kṛitvā tē-

11 na vihārikā kṛitavat=ālaṁkārabhūtā bhuvō mitrēbhyō=’dbhuta-vaijayanta-jayinī datt=ēyam=unmīlati | yasyāṁ vismṛitavān=nivāsa-rasikaḥ śāstā trilōkī-patiḥ

12 Śuddhāvāsa-nivāsam=arthi-janatā-duḥsañchara-prāntaraṁ || [10*] Hartuṁ Harēḥ padam=iv=ājani tatra tatra kīrttir=yayā vasa(su)matī kṛitabhūshaṇā bhūḥ | tāvach=chiraṁ jayati nē

13 tra-sudhā sravantī yāvat=samṛidhyati na Maṁjurava-pratijñā || [11*] Tat-tat-kīrtti-vidhau sudhā-nidhir=iv=āmbhōdhau samunmīlitaṁ puṇyaṁ yad=bhuvan-āntarāla-tulanā-pātraṁ pavitraṁ ma-

14 ma | astu prastuta-vastu-vat=karatalē paśyanti viśvaṁ jinā yatr=āsīma-padē sthitās=trijagatāṁ tat-prāptayē tach=chiraṁ || [12*] Tarkka-śilpa-prasaṅgē yau dhāvatō jagatāṁ hṛidi | Kanaka-

15 śrī Vaśishṭhō vā praśasti-vyakti-kārakau || [13*]

## A Buddha image inscription of the reign of Mahēndrapāla from Bihar-Sharif.

(Pl. XI, *d.*)

This inscription was discovered by me in May 1933. It is engraved on the pedestal of a stone image of the Buddha seated in the attitude of teaching. The image when I saw it was lying in a corner in the house of a dealer in antiquuities who had recently got it from an old woman of Bihār-Sharīf. It was worshipped by the woman and was thickly besmeared with vermilion and ghee. The accompanying photograph will show that it is not well-preserved. I understand that it has been secured for the Nālandā Museum where it is now preserved as a present from the owner.

The inscription does not mention Nālandā but is published here along with the epigraphs of Mahēndrapāla's reign found at Nālandā. It is dated and is a clear evidence of Magadha being under the rule of this Pratihāra ruler in the beginning of his reign. The date is given in letter symbols, *viz.*, the symbol for 4 standing for the regnal year and the symbol for 10 standing for the *tithi* of the month when the image was consecrated. In addition to the creed formula which is inscribed round the upper portion of the statue, it gives :—

L. 1 [Ōṁ] Samvat 4 Chaitra śudi 10 śrī-Mahi(ē)ndrapāladēva-rājyē Saindhavānām

2 dāna(ā)[1]rthē Kumārabhandrē(drē)ṇa dēvaddh(dh)armma[ḥ*] pratipādī(i)taḥ

[1] [Reading of the last two syllables in the first line and of the first two in the second is doubtful.—Ed.]

In the year 4, on the 10th day of the bright half of Chaitra during the reign of Mahēndrapāladēva (the image) was set up by Kumārabhadra as a gift of the Saindhavas (the residents of Sindh).

## Votive inscription of the reign of Mahēndrapāladēva.

(Pl. X, *c*.)

In the *stūpa* area of the site under exploration several *stūpas* have been exposed. Some of these are built of bricks while others are made of stone only. A few of them are of a large size but the rest are small ones. In the latter group three fine little *stūpas* in stone are to be seen which in all probability were built in the reign of Mahēndrapāladēva who flourished about 896-908 A.D. and was the son and successor of Bhōja—the well-known Pratihāra king of Kanauj. Their technique is identical. So also the material they are made of. All of them bear inscriptions written in early Nāgarī script and Sanskrit language. Besides the creed formula which is engraved on all of them, they give some Buddhist texts which I have not been able to identify. One of them records the construction of a *Chaitya* in the reign of Mahēndrapāla, the Pratīhara king of Kanauja, though it does not specify any date. This record reads :—

Śrī-Mahi(ē)ndrapāladēva-ra(ā)jyēḥ(jyē) | Kāyastha Panthāka-sū(su)ta Śrīva ...... nastha ? rkhu kēnēda(daṁ) hārakē (or daharake) pratipāditaḥ[1]

The name of the person who set up the *stūpa* and of the place to which he belonged are worn and cannot be made out with certainty. His father's name is however, clear and reads Panthaka who was a Kāyastha. Mahēndrapāladēva, as I have stated above, was the Pratihāra king. The Buddha image inscription noticed above and the Bālāditya inscription noticed below respectively belong to the 4th and 11th years of his reign. Consequently this inscription was incised about the time when Magadha was under the suzerainty of the said Pratihāra king, namely, Mahēndrapāladēva.

Inscriptions round the other stūpa (Pl. XI, *a-c*) read :—

A.

Line 1 symbol (Ōṁ) Yō Buddha-śāsana-sarōja-vikāsanēna lōkōttaraṁ tadutari.... tulyaḥ

2 [śāstra]-prabhākara-matiḥ prathitō-lōka śṛiṅga-tulya-charitō-pi yaśō-visuddaḥ

3 śishyēṇa tasya matikairava silanasy=a (B)uddha-ka-paṇayati-nasraguṇākarēṇa arōpito bhagavataḥ Sugatasya chaityaḥ (||)

4 svollohalam ? pratisamasthitir-evabhūyāt-punyaīrīva vā(bā)lārkka(o)san (B)uddham padam=anuttaram śrēyō .... jīvalō kam saṁsārapīḍitaḥ

B.

Line 1 symbol (Ōṁ) yāvāl-sthā nabhasya bhaveha śivām-ēsha-nishṭhā tathaiva- ...............

2 -ma- nishṭhā'
tāvatnishṭha mama prāṇinām

[1] [I would read *Kāyastha-Panthōka-sū(su)ṭa-śrī-Vach*[*chha*]*sya* [*suta*]-*Khachchhūkēna dēharakē pratipāditaḥ* || —Ed.]

C.

Line 1 Arabhatha nishkramata yuṁja gham (or dhavam) (B)uddha sānu ? punītam su-naḥ sēvyaṃ na-
2 ya māram-iva kuñjaraḥ yady-asmin dharmmaviyay āparamattas'-charishya-
3 ti prabhavishjati saṁsāram duḥkhasyāntam karishyati[1]

## Bālāditya's stone inscription from Nālandā.

This inscription has already been published[2] and need not be noticed in detail here. It is now preserved in the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The reading of the text is given below to facilitate reference. The Tailāḍhaka mentioned in this record must have been an important locality. It is noticed by Hsüan Tsang[3] and is mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbari*. That more than one locality was called Kauśāmbī need not be dilated upon here.

### Text.

Line 1 (Ōṁ) Śrīman-Mahīpāladē-
2 va-rājya-saṁvat 11
3 Agnidāh(ō)ddhārē
4 tasē(tasya) dēyadharmmō=yaṁ pravara-
5 Mā(Ma)hāyāna-yāyinaḥ para-
6 m-ōpāsaka-śrimat-Tailāḍha-
7 kīya-jyāvisha-Kauśāmv(b)ī-
8 vinirggatasya Haradatta-naptu
9 ḥr=Gurudatta-suta-śri-**V(B)ālā**
10 **dityasya** yad=atra puṇyaṁ ta-
11 d=bhavatu sarvva-satva-rāśēr=a
12 nuttara-jñān-āvāptaya iti ||

---

[1] [There are altogether four records engraved round the base of the drum of this Stūpa. My reading of the text is as follows :—

A

1 Ōṁ[||*] Yō Vu(Bu)ddha-śāsana-sarōja-vikāsana(nē)=bhūl=lōkōttarē tad=itarē ◡ ◡ — ◡ tatvaḥ(ttavḥ) |
2 śāstrē Prabhākaramatiḥ savit=ēva lōkē śītāṅsu-tulya-charitō=pi yaśō-viśuddhaḥ [||]
3. Śishyēṇa tasya yati-kairava-śītadhāmnā Vu(Bu)ddhākarēṇa yatinā sva-guṇ-ākarēṇa [|*] ārōpitō bhagavataḥ Sugatasya chaityaḥ
4 sva[r]ṇṇ-āchala-pratisama-sthitir=ēva bhūyāt || Puṇyēn=ānēna lav(b)dh=āsau
5 Bauddham=padam=anuttaraṁ | śrēyō-[mā*]rgē niyuñjīta lōkaṁ saṁsāra-vī(pī)ḍitaṁ ||

B

1 Ōṁ [||*] Yāvata nishṭhā nabhasya bhavēyā |
sa ch=āśēshata nishṭhā tath=aiva . i |
2 karma tu [krī]śātu yāvata nishṭhā |
tāvata nishṭhā mama praṇidhānaṁ ||

C

Buddhist formula in two lines.

D

1 Ārabhadhvaṁ nishkramata yujyadhvaṁ Vu(Bu)ddha-śāsanē dhunīta mrityunaḥ sainyaṁ na-
2 ḍ-āgāram=iva kuñjaraḥ [|*] Yō hy=asmin=dharmmavinayē apramattaś=charishya-
3 ti [|*] prahāya jāti-saṁsāraṁ duḥkhasy=āntaṁ karishyati ||*
*(*Cf. Saṁyutta Nikāya* (ed. P. T. S.), pt. I, pp. 156, 157) and *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 68, 138-39, 162, etc.).—Ed.]

[2] *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. IV, p. 106 and plate VI. R. D. Banerji's Memoir on Pālas, p. 75.

[3] Records, etc. Vol. II, p. 439.

## Inscriptions which are not historical.

The inscriptions which hardly possess any historical value are several. The majority of them give only the creed formula which in some cases is engraved very neatly. As remarked above it is either written in Sanskrit or in Prakrit, the script being mediæval Nāgarī except in one or two cases where it is Gupta. These short records usually give the name of the person who set up the image on which they are incised. Sometimes they give the name of the teacher at whose instance the benefaction was made. In some cases *mantras* such as we find in the Brahmanical *tantra* works are also given. As remarked in the introduction to this chapter the most important inscriptions coming under this head are those which give the *nidāna-sūtras* and their *vibhaṅga* or exposition in Sanskrit. The whole text and the *ṭīkā* have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica.*[1]

### List of unhistorical votive inscriptions.

| Serial No. | Register No. | Text. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | S. III . . | Line 1 Dē[ya*]dhammō=ya[ṁ] Bhaṭṭa-Māṇi[kya]sya yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad-bhavatu mā[tā]pitṛi-pramukha-<br>Line 2 samasta va(ba)ndhu-varga-purassarasya sarvva-satvā-(ttvā)nāñ=cha (Pl. X, *f*). |
| 2 | S. III . . | In 2 lines. Line 1 (Ōṁ) Yē dharmmā hētu, etc., etc.<br>Line 2 (Ōṁ) yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=mātāpitripūrvanṅgamaṅkriti(tvā) sakala-satvānām=anuttara-jñān-ā[vāptayē]. |
| 3 | S. I. A. 78 . . | Three lines giving the creed in Sanskrit. |
| 4 | S. I. A. No. 81 . | Six lines giving the creed in Sanskrit. |
| 5 | S. I. A. 83 . . | One line. Dēvatō(dē)yam d?Ōvakasya. [Reading is Dē dha[r]-mō=yaṁ Lōvakāy[ā].—Ed.] |
| 6 | S. I. A. No. 89 . | Creed in 4 lines (Sanskrit). |
| 7 | Do. 90 . | Creed in 5 lines. |
| 8 | S. I. A. No. 113 . | Front—one line Dē dharmō=yaṁ paramōpāsaka-śrī-Namasya. [Reading is *Nāgasya.*—Ed.]<br>Back—one line—(Symbol) creed in Sanskrit. |
| 9 | S. I. A. No. 123 . | Creed in five short lines. |
| 10 | S. I. A. No. 232 . | [Ōṁ], creed in two lines and dēva...... |
| 11 | S. I. A. No. 245 A | Creed in two lines, partly broken. |

[1] Vol. XXI, pp. 197 ff. and Plate. For another brick containing this *sūtra*, dated G. E. 197, *See Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 21 f.

| Serial No. | Register No. | Text. |
|---|---|---|
| 12 | S. I. A. No. 282 . | Creed in one circular line with words *vādimahā-śramaṇaḥ* and the mystic symbols *hrīḥ ṇaḥ, ōṁ ; huṁ, hrī, hōḥ* written within a circle. |
| 13 | S. I. A. No. 304 . | Three short lines giving |
| | | 1 Ōṁ Tārē tuttārē turē svāhā |
| | | 2 Ōṁ Padmavati ōm Kuru- |
| | | 3 kullē svāhā \| yē dharma.° |
| 14 | S. I. A. No. 305 . | Creed in 4 lines. |
| 15 | S. I. A. No. 306 . | Creed in four lines and dē[ya*]dharmō=yaṁ Paddēkasya ? |
| 16 | S. I. A. No. 314 . | [Ōṁ] and creed written incorrectly Yē ddhrma hētum, etc., and Mahasravaṇa, etc. |
| 17 | S. I. A. No. 321 . | Part of creed—atō hy=avada. |
| 18 | S. I. A. No. 315 . | Creed in five lines, partly damaged. |
| 19 | S. I. A. No. 492 . | Creed in one circular line. |
| 20 | S. I. A. I . | Two lines giving Vajradhātu ōṁ vajraka[r*]mma huṁ followed by the creed. |
| 21 | S. I. A. No. 157 . | Creed in one line shaped like a horse-shoe. |
| 22 | S. I. A. No. 98 . | Ōṁ and Dēvadharmō=yaṁ Āsēkasya. [Probably the reading is *stha-Sēkasya.*—Ed.] |
| 23 | S. I. A. No. 18 . | Creed and Dēyadharmmō=yaṁ Prabhākarēndrabōdhēḥ. |
| 24 | S. I. A. No. 4 . | Fragmentary, giving Sakalasatvas[y]a |
| 25 | S. I. A. No. 212 . | Some three letters Va[tō]sa-? |
| 26 | S. I. A. No. 211 . | Ōṁ and creed partly damaged. |
| 27 | S. I. A. No. 487 . | Three lines first two giving the creed and the third Dēvadharmmō=yaṁ paramōpāsaka-Mahāvijasya (See serial No. 10 above). |
| 28 | S. I. A. No. 97-A | Creed in two lines. |
| 29 | S. I. A. No. 94 . | Creed in one line written like a horse-shoe. |
| 30 | S. I. A. No. 99 . | Creed in three lines. |
| 31 | S. I. No. 548 . | Fragmentary, three lines ; last giving yē dharmā hētu°. |
| | | 2nd dēdharmō. |
| | | 3rd śramaṇaḥ. |

| Serial No. | Register No. | Text. |
|---|---|---|
| 32 | S. I. A. 57 . | Two short lines.<br>1st reading dēvadharmm=ōya[ṁ] Sāvitī<br>2nd rasya [Probably we have to read *Sāvitīkā[yaṁ]*.—Ed.] |
| 33 | S. I. A. 19 . . | Portions of the creed and Dēdhamō=yam Pushyakasya ? [Probably *Dha[mē]kasya*.—Ed.] |
| 34 | S. I. 497 . . | Creed. |
| 35 | S. I. 461 . . | Part of the creed formula. |
| 36 | S. I. 12 . . | Creed in 4 lines. |
| 37 | S. I. No. 544 . | Creed in 3 lines. |
| 38 | S. I. No. 542 . | Creed. |
| 39 | S. I. No. 469 . | Two inscriptions one giving sva or suva vu dhe tum hrum krum svah and the other<br>Śīlasya. The first three letters of the first line are evidently to be taken with the second and the donor's name would be like Suvṛiddha or Subuddhaśīla. [The donor's name reads stha. *Vu(Bu)ddhaśīlasya* and the mantras read *ōm jrī chrī svāhā*.—Ed.] |
| 40 | S. I. No. 470 , | Dēva-dharmmō=yaṁ Tikēkasya. |
| 41 | S. I. No. 496 . | Part of creed. |
| 42 | S. I. No. 417 . | Creed in two lines. |
| 43 | S. I. No. 546 . | Ōṁ and creed followed by Dēdharmō=ya[ṁ*] Dāmōdarasya. |
| 44 | S. I. A. 492. . | Dē-dharmrō(rmō)=yaṁ Sramaṇa-siṅghasya [I read *stha-Satyasiṅghasya*.—Ed.] |
| 45 | S. I. 424 . . | Creed in three lines followed by Dēyadharmmō=yaṁ Prabhākarēndrabhōdhēḥ as in S. I. A. 8. |
| 46 | S. I. 457 . . | Ōṁ and creed and Dēva-dharmmō=yam=achārī Andaguptasyaḥ (name not clear). |
| 47 | S. I. No. 452 . | Part of creed. |
| 48 | S. I. 418 . . | Do. |
| 49 | S. I. 450 . . | Creed in three lines followed by Dēvadharmō=[yaḥ(yaṁ)]-rāja [The name seems to be Vājō.—Ed.] |
| 50 | S. I. 458 . . | Creed in three lines. |
| 51 | S. I. 393 . . | Part of creed. |
| 52 | S. I. 4 . . | Do. |

| Serial No. | Register No. | Text. |
|---|---|---|
| 53 | S. I. No. 10 . | Part of creed. |
| 54 | S. I. 385 . . | Creed in 5 lines. |
| 55 | S. I. 386 . . | Creed in two lines followed by ḥ and dēvadharmō=ya[ṁ*] Samakēnaḥ. |
| 56 | S. I. 62 . . | Part of creed. |
| 57 | S. I. 387 . . | Creed. |
| 58 | S. I. 128 . . | Creed in two lines. |
| 59 | S. I. 191 . . | Creed in 4 lines. |
| 60 | S. I. 129 . . | Corruptly written creed. |
| 61 | S. I. 130 . . | Part of creed. |
| 62 | S. I. 149 . . | Fragmentary, giving part of creed and some indistinct letters. |
| 63 | S. I. 152 . . | Creed in three lines. |
| 64 | S. I. 186 . . | Line 1 Dēvadharmōyaṁ Maṁ- |
| | | Line 2 ma (or mma)rājasya. [Reading is Mamōrājasya.—Ed.] |
| 65 | S. I. No. 225 . | Creed in three lines. |
| 66 | S. I. 242 . . | Creed in 5 short lines and Sudhīra-mantripālaḥ. |
| 67 | S. I. 302 . . | Creed. |
| 68 | S. I. 552 . . | Parts of creed. |
| 69 | S. I. A. No. 10 . | Creed. |
| 70 | S. I. No. 9 . . | Creed in 4 lines. |
| 71 | S. I. 7 . . | Do. |
| 72 | S. I. 92 . . | Creed in two lines. |
| 73 | S. I. No. 371 . | Creed. |
| 74 | S. I. No. 370 . | Creed partly broken. |
| 75 | S. I. No. 363 . | Parts of creed. |
| 76 | S. I. No. 303 . | Dēdharmō=yaṁ sthavira Naya(siṁha ?) in one line. [Reading is stha. Vinayasiṅgha.—Ed.] |
| 77 | S. I. No. 551 . | One line, broken at the beginning, reading na Sikasya dēva-dharmō=yam [To me the reading appears to be—pāsikasya Vadhu Su-.—Ed.] |

| Serial No. | Register No. | Text. |
|---|---|---|
| 78 | S. I. No. 389 . | Ōṁ dēva-dharmō=yaṁ Karaluka ? [Reading seems to be *Kṛishātukā*.—Ed.] |
| 79 | S. I. No. 202 . | Creed in 4 short lines followed by dē-dharmō-yaṁ Hirshriranta (Rishiratna) ? [probably *bhikshūranta* (*bhikshuratna*)—Ed.], Śrīdēvasya. |
| 80 | S. I. A. No. 5 . | Creed followed by<br>Line 4 Śrī-Dharmma[bha]ṭa Śrī-Datikanaḥ Bāhuka-<br>Line 5 sutaḥ dē-dharmmō=yaṁ. |
| 81 | S. I. No. 459 . | One long line giving the creed below which is written Ōm Vāyu hara mahā. |
| 82 | S. I. No. 112 . | These give the creed formula either fully or only partially. |
| 83 | S. I. No. 69 . | |
| 84 | S. I. No. 54 . | |
| 85 | S. I. No. 193 . | |
| 86 | S. I. No. 179 . | |
| 87 | S. I. No. 171 . | |
| 88 | S. I. No. 172 . | |
| 89 | S. I. No. 173 . | |
| 90 | S. I. No. 131 . | |
| 91 | S. I. No. 165 . | |
| 92 | No. 179 . . | Two lines, the 1st gives dēdharmō=yaṁ, but the 2nd is not distinct. |
| 93 | No. 78 . . | Two short lines, scratched and indistinct giving the creed formula. |
| 94 | No. 44 . . | One short line only giving Dēvadharmmō=yaṁ. |
| 95 | No. 46 . . | The creed formula. |
| 96 | No. 23 . . | The creed formula in two lines. |
| 97 | No. 20 . . | Parts of the creed formula. |
| 98 | S. IV. No. 20 . | 9 short lines commencing with namō Buddhāya after which comes the creed formula and then namō ratna-traya. Lines five to nine give dēyadharmmō=yaṁ Jaṇuvākasya yad=a[tra*] punyaṁ. etc., writtten corruptly. |
| 99 | No. 717 . . | One short line giving a portion of the creed formula. |
| 100 | No. 619 . . | Two short lines giving a portion of the creed formula. |

| Serial No. | Register No. | Text. |
|---|---|---|
| 101 | No. 704 . . | One line giving the creed formula. |
| 102 | S. II. No. 730 . | One short line giving dharmō=yaṁ Sravara-mahājānadi ? [correct reading is the usual phrase pravara-mahājā(yā)na-bhi—.......... Ed.] ; the rest is broken and lost. |
| 103 | No. 623 . . | One short line giving dēdharmmō=yaṁ Mudatakasya. |
| 104 | No. 728 . . | Two lines, the upper one gives dēdharmmō=yaṁ sthavira-Śra(ē)-yamatiḥ [correct reading Sūrya-matēḥ.—Ed.] and the lower one yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvva-satvānām=anu—— |
| 105 | S. II. No. 716 . | The creed formula, and dēva-dharmō=yaṁ Mālyavara-Dhīrakasya (Might be Mānya°) [Reading is dēva-dharmō=ya[m]=alpadhara-Thirēkasya.—Ed.] |
| 106 | No. 646 . . | Three lines giving the creed formula. |
| 107 | No. 626 . . | Some four or five indistinct letters. |
| 108 | S. I. A. No. 224 (Pl. XI, *g*). | Ākāśalakshaṇaṁ sarvva[m*]<br>Ākāśaṁ ch=āpy=alakshaṇam [\|*]<br>Ākāśa-samatā-yōgāt=<br>sarvvāgra-samatā sphuṭāḥ (ṭā) [\|\|*]<br>A short line on bottom gives Udayabhadrasya "*i.e.*, the gift of Udayabhadra." [cf. *Sādhana-mālā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Vol. II, p. 470.—Ed.] |
| 109 | .. | The two statues one of which is marked S. I. A. 231 a and the other, S. I. A. 231 b also bear votive inscriptions. The former gives<br>1 Śrī-Nālandāyā(yāṁ) talahaṭṭakē Śrī-Nṛivakuṅga ? pati<br>2 Kalasukatha......kṛitaḥ and on the latter the words Śrī-Sūrapa ......can be made out (Pl. X, *d*). [Both the pieces belong to the same statue. To me the reading towards the end seems to be : [G]audūvā kuṭṭapati Kalas[tha] kadēvasy=āyaṁ kṛitaḥ.—Ed.] |

## Sculptures.

Nālandā has yielded a large number of sculptures in clay, stone and metal. They are either Jaina, Brahmanical or Buddhist. The Jaina sculptures which have been excavated here are very few and commonplace. The Buddhist sculptures form the majority and are, obviously, all of the Mahāyānist cult. Hīnayānists will not worship images. To them the Buddha was an historical personage who attained *Mahāparinirvvāṇa* at the time of death and to worship him has no sense. One may meditate on the noble qualities he possessed and which got him the *Bōdhi* or Buddhahood. To the follower of the Mahāyāna he is only the ethereal representative of Amitābha, the celestial Buddha of Boundless Light

who dwells in Sukhāvatī or the 'world of the highest bliss'. The Mahāyāna sect recognises Buddhas, Bōdhisattvas, their attendant deities and demons, and goes in for spacious temples and images and for pompous ceremonial and noisy festivals. It has the tendency to adore the supernatural which predominates in the minds of its adherents just as it does in the minds of the Hindus. As I have remarked elsewhere, it is this tendency which found expression in the sculpture which the followers of Brahmanism and Mahāyānism produced and it is this tendency which caused a sort of coalition between them. Mahāyānism seems to have flourished about the seventh century (A.D.) when Nālandā had reached the climax of its glory. It was at that period that it greatly influenced Hinduism. The influence was mutual for each had to borrow from the other. Some of the Brahmanical divinities were incorporated into the Buddhist or Mahāyāna pantheon, and *vice versâ*. At times Buddhism had royal supporters, as was the case during the reign of Harshavardhana or of the Pālas. This must have added to its importance and attracted the followers of the rival sect. The followers of the faith which became stronger would try to show that their deities are much more powerful than those of the other religion, whose votaries will naturally be attracted to them and would start adoring them. The followers of the more successful faith would incorporate the deities of the other religion into their pantheon to make it comprehensive but give them a subordinate position. To satisfy the religious susceptibility of the votaries of the latter independent status will, at times, be given to their divinities. The principal gods or goddesses, however, will not get such a position but will be represented as subservient or vanquished by the *dēvatās* of the predominant sect. The three chief gods of the Hindu faith, namely, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva are shown as being trampled, *e.g.*, by Mārīchī while Tārā is represented in the *Sādhanas* as pressing both Rudra and Brahmā between her two feet.[1] The comparatively minor deities were given independent status also. For instance Gaṇēśa who is trampled upon by Aparājitā[2] gets an independent *dhyāna* for worship as well.[3] In this case he is practically identical with the Brahmanical god of that denomination; his vehicle is the selfsame mouse, his stomach is equally protuberant; and so on. The Buddhist god Trailōkyavijaya is shown with one foot placed on the head of Śiva and the other on the breasts of Pārvatī, S. I. 224 (Pl. XII, *a*). Similarly, Vishṇu becomes the vehicle of the Buddhist deity Harihariharivāhana and is trampled by Mārīchī. Sarasvatī is a Brahmanical divinity originally. The *Vāgāmbhṛiṇīya* hymn shows it. But she figures in Mahāyāna as well, both as an independent goddess and as a subordinate *yakshiṇī* of Jambhala.[4] Tārā, as I have demonstrated in my *Memoir*[5], was originally a Buddhist goddess, but has been adopted by the Śakti-worshippers of the Brahmanical faith. There she is the wife of Śiva being only a form of Durgā or Pārvatī. The Sapta-Mātṛikās who are of Brahmanical origin have been brought

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[1] *Sādhanamālā* (Baroda ed.), Vol. I, p. 241 (114th *Sādhana*).

[2] *Sādhanamālā* (Baroda ed.), Vol. II, p. 803.

[3] *Sādhanamālā* (Baroda ed.), Vol. II, p. 593.

[4] *Ibid.*, *Sādhanas* 161-166.

[5] *Memoirs of A. S. I.*, No. 20.

into the Buddhist fold and described as 'afraid of the Mahāyānist goddess Mahāpratisarā' (*sapta-matrādi-dēvatā-santrāsa-kāri*).'[1] What their status is in the Hindu mythology need not be dilated upon here. The inscribed slate with their figures engraved on it which was found in Nālandā is now preserved in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. The inscription written on it has been noticed above. Gaṅgā, an important divinity in the Brahmanical pantheon, figures only as a mere *nadī* or river in Mahāyāna without any special godhead. This we find in the *Suklaikajaṭā-sādhanam.* The solar deity of the Hindu religion who figures as a very important god both in the *Vēdas* and in the *Purāṇas* merges into the Buddhist deity Mārīchī though his horses are replaced by pigs. Brahmā does not figure independently in the Mahāyāna mythology and no image representing him has yet been unearthed at Nālandā. Even in Brahmanical temples his images are not to be found in abundance. We thus see that the chief Hindu gods or goddesses are represented as weaklings before the Buddhist or Mahāyānist deities who are described as trampling upon them. That one divinity should be represented as subordinate to another will be due to the *ananya-bhakti* or exclusive devotion of a worshipper for whom there is no power or deity higher than his own *ishṭadēvatā.* But to represent a god as pressed between the feet of another like a football or lying under his feet is a clear indication of disrespect in which the Buddhists held the divinities of the Brahmanic faith. The followers of Brahmanism had to be told that their deities were powerless before the *dēvatās* of the Buddhist religion and need not be worshipped. The converts or sympathisers would not give up their beliefs all of a sudden and might worship their *ishṭadēvatās* if they liked; the new faith, they were embracing, also recognised them though it gave them a subordinate position. Some of them are given the status of a Bōdhisattva which means that they can rise to the exhalted position of a Buddha. This would satisfy the neophyte. But such ideas occur only in the beginning. Later on coalescence starts to work and the votaries of each faith begin to think of the *oneness* of the Divine Essence which is the common object of worship and then their differences cease. The different divinities become the metamorphoses of one and the same God who appears in multifarious forms at will—*ēkō=haṁ bahu syām*; *ēkaṁ sad-viprāḥ bahudhā vadanti.*

Mahāyānism resembles the Tantric forms of Hinduism. Evidently there was a good deal of borrowing in the beginning. Finally in India Mahāyānism was practically absorbed into the all-embracing Hinduism and Buddha himself became an incarnation of Vishṇu.

In the commencement, religions sects or faiths are usually free from various impurities. When personalities come in, things begin to change. This happened in the case of Mahāyānism also. To the Hīnayānist Gautama Buddha is the sympathetic human teacher who moves about among his disciples, expounding the *Dharma*, but to a Mahāyānist he is a supernatural Being who is fond of pompous ceremonials. Things are all right at the outset, but the lower man begins to work and vices begin to be tolerated and are even encouraged under

[1] *Sādhanamālā.*, Vol. II, p. 407.

various pretexts. Mahāyāna which like the Brahmanic Tantra system was a sublime cult in the beginning, degenerated into the Vajrayāna and the Sahajayāna sects which were adopted by all sorts of people who were anxious to satisfy the lower appetites of human nature and followed the maxim of *yōga* and *bhōga*! The result was that a god in his *Yab-yum* posture with his *śakti* hugging him closely became the object of greater adoration than in his ascetic form—god with his *śakti* is easily propitiated! In the same way Śiva the great Yōgin who remains calm and unperturbed in spite of the whole world moving round began to be worshipped in his amorous attitude caressing Pārvatī seated on his thigh as in the sculptures No. S. 4. 63 and S. III. 194, excavated at Nālandā (Pl. XII, *b*). The earlier sculptures are not only more artistic in their execution but are free from this corrupt influence which was so baneful that it made the cult-images lifeless symbols void of 'spirituality and of anatomical definition'. This is true not only in the case of Nālandā but in that of other sculptures as well.

In the Brahmanical images so far recovered from Nālandā we find the representations of Śiva and of his emblem, of Vishṇu (Pl. XII, *c*), Saṅkarshaṇa, Sūrya (Pl. XII, *d*) and his son Rēvanta, Gaṇēśa, Sarasvatī, Chaṇḍikā (Pl. XII, *e*) and of Gaṅgā. The fragment of a stone slab (S. III. 210) showing the lower body of a richly clad lady and of a child with the emblem of Śiva on the left side also seems to be Brahmanical. The four armed standing Pārvatī (S. I. 722) with the Phallus on the right side and the crescent on the left side of her head is also Brahmanical and requires a casual notice. Some of them are in stone and the rest are made of bronze. For reasons stated above one might as well call them Buddhist. Their *dhyānas* as given in Brahmanical works are well known and need not be reproduced here. Whether Saṅkarshaṇa figures as a divinity in the Buddhist *Sādhanas* or not and what his *dhyāna* or *dhāraṇī* as given there is I am not aware, but his image according to the *Bhaṭṭabhāskarīya* quoted in the *Tattvanidhi* (p. 53) should be like that of Vāsudēva or Kṛishṇa. The body should be white and clad in blue attire. In the place of the mace a pestle (Skt. *musala*) should be shown and a plough should be put in place of the discus.

> Vāsudēva-svarūpēṇa kāryaḥ Saṅkarshaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | sa tu śukla-vapuḥ kāryō nīla-vāsā Yadūttamaḥ | gadā-sthānē cha musalaṁ chakra-sthānē cha lāṅgalam ||

The *dhyāna* of Vāsudēva as given there is:—

> Vāsudēvas=sitas=śāntas=sit-ābja-sthaś=chaturbhujaḥ || yōga-mūrdh=ōrdhva-śaṅkhaś=cha dakshē śārṅgadharas=smṛitaḥ || Dhārayēd=uttarē chakraṁ dakshiṇē cha gadām=iti.

They call him Saṅkarshaṇa because of his *garbha-saṅkarshaṇāt*! Saṅkarshaṇa or Halāyudha was the elder brother of Kṛishṇa. He is the personification of Śēsha-nāga, the great serpent king on whom Vishṇu sleeps in the 'Kshīrasāgara' or ocean of milk with Lakshmī pressing his feet.

The other noteworthy statuette in this collection is the one which is marked 2568. It is made of bronze and represents a Nāga seated with right leg hanging below the *padmāsana*. He has a canopy of seven serpent hoods over his head. I am inclined to take it to be a Nāgārjuna figure like the highly artistic stone

image with the inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Māṇikya (Pl. X, *f*) noticed in the chapter on Inscriptions. That image was described by me in my annual report long ago and is reproduced here for the sake of comparison (Pl. XII, *f*). These two images do not bear any label and their identification is a matter of conjecture. But to call them mere Nāga figures seems to have no meaning. Besides, why should such figures be set up as *dēyadharmas* in the company of images which are entirely Buddhist! Buddhists will not adore Nāgas along with the mighty deities of their own faith. The rosary and the Nāga at the back would suggest that they represent Nāgārjuna the deified saint of yore. Nālandā was one of the principal seats of the Mahāyāna sect and Nāgārjuna was the master of Mahāyāna. We have to remember the tradition which connects Nāgārjuna with Nālandā where he is said to have obtained the extraordinarily long life of three hundred years through the grace of the primordial Buddha Amitāyus, though he was destined to live only seven days. It is interesting to observe here that a somewhat similar 'Nāga' figure was noticed by me in the temple of Chaṇḍikādēvī at Bhāndak in the Central Provinces and that tradition connects Nāgārjuna with those parts of India as well.

As to the Buddhist sculptures excavated from Nālandā they are in stucco or clay, stone or bronze. The stucco figures round the large *stūpa* site III are, in my opinion, late mediæval in origin. They were intact when opened but later on began to disintegrate and stand in need of careful preservation. Regarding the images in stone some of the important ones have already been mentioned or described above including the interesting panels of the site II called Pathargaṭṭi (Pl. I, *c-d*). Of these the earliest piece is the remarkable decorative fragment which has already been mentioned. Of the rest, Buddha figures on the drum of a miniature *stūpa* with a long inscription of the reign of Dharmapāladeva seem to be the earliest. The figures carved on the miniature *stūpa* which bears the inscription of the reign of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla represent some of the life scenes of Gautama Buddha. The large sized image of Avalōkitēśvara or Padmapāṇi (No. 1407) and the somewhat similar image marked S. 8. 15 (Pl. XII, *g*) are remarkable for their facial expression and skilful modelling. In the former, three Buddhas are shown on the top of the halo and Amitābha surmounts his head. He is flanked by his *śakti* Tārā drawn in diminutive form to show his superiority. In the latter a diminutive male stands under the right hand extended in the *vara-mudrā*. The lotus-stalk with *padma* is held in the left hand in both the figures. The image of Vajrapāṇi (S. III. 179) is complete but not finished. The head of a Bōddhisattva in red sandstone is a very lifelike piece. The stone figures representing Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas in different attitudes placed in well-cut ornamental niches which were recovered from site III and are marked 52, 38, 80 and 8 require a casual notice. The crowned Buddha sitting in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in an ornamental niche surmounted by a *Kīrttimukha* under three Buddha figurines is another noteworthy piece. It is marked S. III. 227. The central figurine at the top represents Buddha in teaching attitude. On his right side a Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā* is standing. On the left side Buddha standing in *vara-mudrā* is represented. They

are all shown as placed in well carved small niches. The principal figure looks more like a Bōddhisattva than a Buddha on account of the crown and the necklace and other ornaments. The small figure representing Mañjuvara sitting in the *paryaṅka* attitude with lotus under his left arm pit is an interesting illustration of his *dhyāna*. The image of Arapachana (S. I. 620) is similarly notable. The small statue marked (S. I. A. 97) (Pl. XII, *h*) which I excavated from S. I. A. is a nice complete piece representing Buddha at the time of Enlightenment. The hosts of Māra are shown below the Vajrāsana. The top is occupied by the Mahāparinirvāṇa image over which a small *stūpa* is placed. On the sides of the head the Bōdhisattvas Avalōkitēśvara and Maitrēya are shown standing. On each side Buddha sits in European fashion preaching the Law. On the left side he is also shown in meditation. The standing crowned Buddha who is smiling and clad in *saṅghāṭi* (S. I. 707) is also noteworthy, though the right hand and the feet are broken. The smiling figure (S. III. 13, 15, 17 and 19) which probably represents Maitrēya standing on a lotus with his right hand extended in *vara-mudrā* and wearing broad *kuṇḍalas* is well executed and noteworthy. The statuette representing Yamāntaka standing on a buffalo and having the creed formula written at the back is a very remarkable representation in that it is full of energy and passion (Pl. XIII, *a*, S. I. A. 113). This interesting complete piece I recovered from the monastery—site called S. I. A. adjoining the main site. The miniature temple or *chaturmukha* with a spire showing standing Buddhas in different postures placed in niches though fragmentary is noteworthy for it is not impossible that the *śikhara* is intended to represent the spire of the Bōdhi temple at Gayā (S. I. 60). The Trailōkyavijaya, the gift of Udayabhadra has already been noticed under Inscriptions (Pl. XI, *g*; S. I. 224). S. 4. 111 seems to represent the two chief Bōdhisattavas, Avalōkitēśvara and Maitrēya in adoration seated under the lotus seat of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. The figure No. S. 7. 1 represents Siṁhanāda-Mañjuśrī and the figure numbered S. 9. 46, three headed Vajrapāṇi. Number S. I. 620 is probably Avalōkita-Lōkēśvara. Number S. I. 641 is probably Kubēra seated amongst his worshippers. The male figure (S. I. 152) requires mention (Pl. XIII, *b*) for the subject of it is not clear. The inscription on the back which is the well-known creed formula would indicate that it is Buddhistic and might represent the Buddha in meditation, seated cross-legged on a *padma*. The back with an ornamental border apparently stands for the aura though its shape would show that the sculptor did not understand its significance. In fact this is the case with the majority of later sculptures which are 'stereotyped' symbols only. The Nāgarī letters *a* and *a*(*ḥ*) written on the right and the left side of the image would show that it is Tantric. Among the female figures in stone the one marked S. III. 114 (Pl. XIII, *c*) is very remarkable for the dignified facial expression and the realistic way in which it is worked. First I took it to be Kōṭiśrī but the *Sādhanas* would show that she is Mahāsarasvatī although her form is not 'of twelve years'—(*dvādaśa-varsh-ākṛiti*). According to her *dhyāna* she has a smiling countenance and is extremely compassionate. The four divinities shown round her and the right hand extended in *vara-mudrā* are present as her *lakshaṇas* though the

left hand which must have carried the white lotus with a stalk is missing. The Vajratārā (?) (S. III. 654) image though fragmentary is noteworthy for the skilful way in which it has been chiselled. Her florid head dress and austere face are well-executed. The figures numbered S. I. 459 and 1429 (Pl. XIII, *d*) might stand for Vasudhārā (?), though the ears of corn are not there. The right hand stretched in *vara-mudrā* and the vessel (of jewels) in the left hand as well as under her seat would suggest that. The four-armed goddess sitting under a canopy of five hoods of serpent in the *Vilāsa* attitude, her right foot resting on a lotus flower is an interesting piece and in good preservation (Pl. XIII, *e*). Her right upper hand holds a sword, the right lower hand, a ball or lemon, the left upper hand has an *aṅkuśa* and the left lower, a noose. The lotus seat on which she sits is ornate (S. 9. 201). She wears various jewels and her hair is dressed like a reversed bowl. The facial expression is remarkably serene. The four armed demoness (S. III. 211) with dwarfish lower body sitting on a lotus, her lower right hand holding a sword and the left lower hand shown in *tarjanī mudrā* is also noteworthy for the awe-inspiring expression in which she is shown. The bust of a female standing in a playful posture (S. I. 238) is depicted like some of the railing figures from Mathurā which are preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The flying figures (S. 12. 27) carved on bricks are full of vigour and remarkable for their realistic expression—the figure to the left shows that the person is actually running in the air. Images in clay, whether baked or not, must have been wrought from moulds. They were found in large numbers and some of them possess great artistic merit. Probably they were all meant for votive offerings as I have remarked above. The figures they bear usually represent either the Buddha or the Bōdhisattva, Maitrēya or Avalōkitēśvara or *Stūpa* or *Stūpas*. Sometimes a form of Tārā also occurs on them. Some of these *stūpas* are complete with festoons and *chhatrāvalis* (see Pl. I, *b*). The Kīrttimukha in terracotta (S. I. 143) is also noteworthy.

A large haul of bronzes has been made during the excavations of Nālandā. The best pieces in them belong to the time of the Pāla supremacy or rather to the reigns of the Pāla kings—Dharmapāla and Dēvapāla which extended over more than a century from about A.D. 780 to 892 and were marked by great intellectual and artistic activity. Two artists of that age, namely, Dhīman and Viṭpāla acquired the highest fame for their skill as painters and sculptors, and bronze founders. One of the inscriptions of the time of Dharmapāla, recovered during these explorations and noticed above, lays great stress on a sculpture having been made by the *śilpins* of Nālandā itself—'*atratyaiḥ śilpibhiḥ*' and mentions their names as well. Nālandā must have had its own workshops in those times otherwise such statements would be meaningless.

I may observe here in passing that striking resemblance is to be seen in the bronze images found at Nālandā and in Java in the Far East. The same resemblance is noticeable in the bronzes found at Kurkihār and the old site of Śrāvastī. Apart from the details of the form of these images, which is very similar, the back of many of them shows a common feature which is that a small piece with the creed formula engraved thereon in Nāgarī characters is

soldered to it. I am reproducting an image found in Java for comparison (Pl. XIII, *f*). This similarity, however, striking though it is, does not mean that all the bronze images of the Buddhist cult which have been recovered from Nālandā and other places were brought from Java as offerings. On the contrary, it testifies to the Indian influence on the sculptural art of the Archipelago. That Java is indebted to Indian civilization does not require any demonstration now. Several eminent scholars have shown this and I need not dilate upon it here. To think that all these bronze images found in hundreds, some even bearing the names of the pious Indian donors were brought from Java will be only an irrational assumption. Some of the bronzes recovered from Nālandā are real master pieces which will stand comparison with any work of great artistic skill. The standing Buddha (S. I. 532) is a model of perfection in metallurgy (Pl. XIII, *g*). The dignified serenity of the face, the proportionate modelling and the realistic aspect of the figure leave nothing wanting on the part of the artist who made it. The Buddha figures are realistic as they had to be for the Buddha was a real human being. That is the reason why in his representations we do not see much of what is 'supernatural' and what arouses 'a feeling of repulsion' in the mind of the critics of the 'realisitic school'. The artist, we have to remember, had to follow certain canonical injunctions in working out the images no doubt and he sometimes had to bring in the 'supernatural'. Some of the images are not so good and I am leaving them out to avoid cumbersome details. The Bōdhisattva Maitrēya, pensive over the miseries of the mortal world (S. I. 475) though late in origin is quite realistic and worthy of attention. The Bōddhisattva figures of Padmapāṇi (S. 8. 67) with Amitābha on the head of Avalōkitēśvara, of 18 armed Tārā (S. 4. 115 ; Pl. XIII, *h*) of Trailōkyavijaya (S. 9. 109), of Kubēra (S. 4. 103 and S. I. A. 59), of Mañjuśrī (S. I. 620) and other divinities noticed in the foregoing pages are useful in connection with the study of the *Sādhanas* for illustrating the *dhyānas*. The bronze *stūpas* (S. I. 608, S. I. A. 161, 193, 174) will illustrate the ease with which the artist worked them. But some of the most remarkable pieces in this lot are the *hand* (S. I. 343) and the *foot* (S. I. 337) of a statue which has not yet been found. If a conjecture can be hazarded the quiver (or horn of plenty) (S. I. 530), the sculptures (S. I. 526, 529) and the leg ? of a throne showing a capital surmounted by an elephant overpowered by a lion (S. I. 314) are connected with that statue. The cup or an *āmalaka* (2106) may be a decorative piece or connected with some colossal image. The flat ornamental piece with various designs and the two feet of a figure which must have surmounted it is a noteworthy object of decoration. The claw (2,100) belongs to some image which is not forthcoming. The censers (S. 4. 109) (75) are interesting objects of worship. The design of their handles is noteworthy. One shows the mouth of a monster from which a lotus stalk emanates and the other is shaped like a snake coming out of a lotus.

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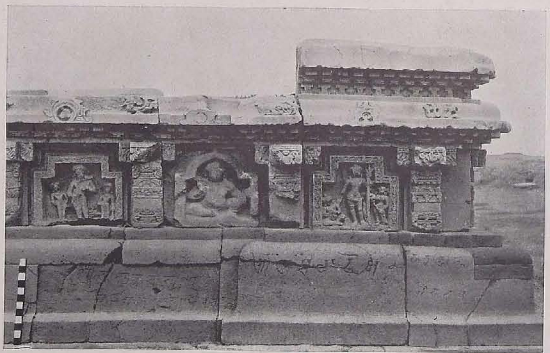
MGIPC—M—III-9-47—2-2-41—350.

( *a* ) Nālanda shrine in Ceylon.

( *b* ) Clay plaque bearing miniature stūpa.

( *e* ) Plaque containing Buddhist text.



( *c-d* ) Sculptured panels, Temple Site II.

( *a* )

( *b* )

( *c* )

( *d* )

( *e* )

( *a* ) Plaque containing Buddhist text.
( *b-e* ) Monastic Seals.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(i)

(h)

(k)

(l)

(j)

Monastic and Village Seals

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

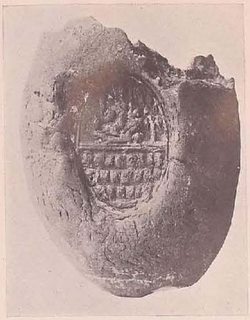
(h)

(j)

(g)

(i)

(*a-f*) Monastic and Village Seals.
(*g-j*) Jānapada Seals.



(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(j)

(g)

(e)

(h)

(f)

(i)

(l)

(k)

(a-e) Janapada Seals.

(f-l) Seals of offices.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)

(i)

(a-f) Office Seals.
(g) Monastic and Village Seal.
(h-i) Miscellaneous Seals.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(f)

(g)

(e)

(h)

(j)

(k)

(i)

(l)

Miscellaneous Seals.

( a ) Seal of Budhagupta.

( f ) Seal of Vainyagupta.

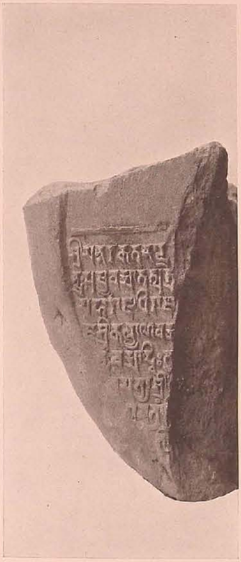
( b ) Seal of Narasiṁhagupta.

( c ) Seal of Narasiṁhagupta.

( e ) Seal of Kumāragupta.

( d ) Seal of Kumaragupta.

( *a* ) Prāgjyotisha Seal.

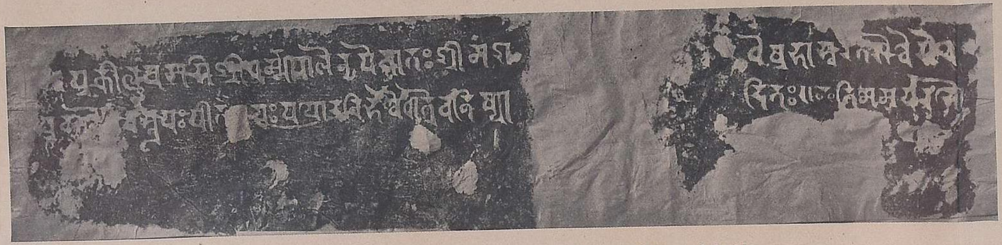


( *b* ) Prāgjyotisha Seal.

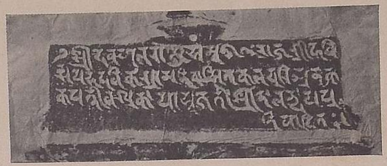
( *f* ) Seal of Sāgara.

( *c-d* ) Seals of Unknown Rulers.

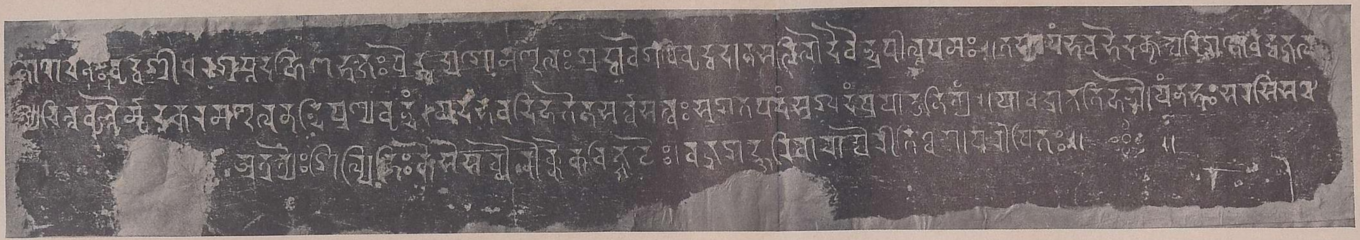
( *e* ) Seal of Īśānasiṁha.



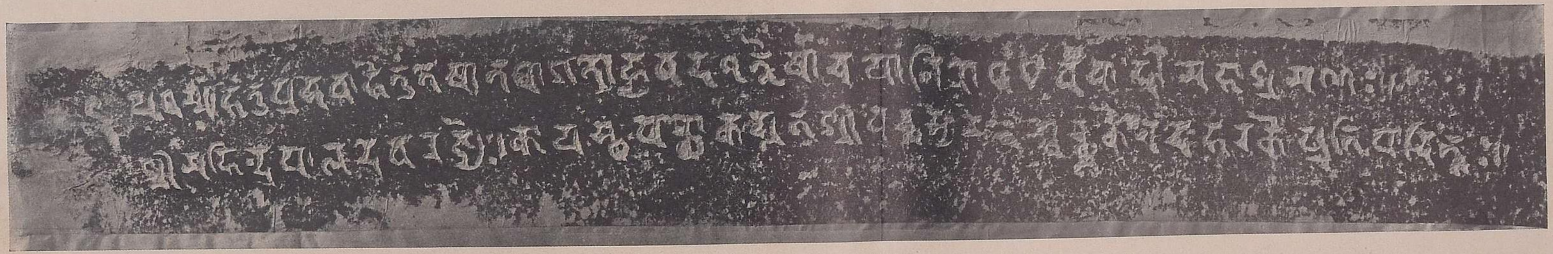
( *a* ) Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Dharmapāladeva—left side.



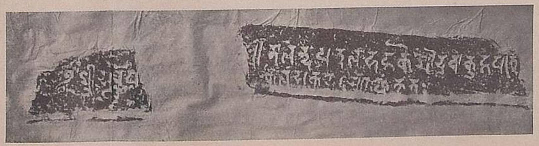
( *b* ) Metal image inscription of Devapāladeva, Year 3.



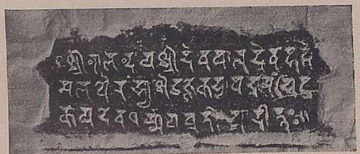
( *a* ) Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Dharmapāladeva—right side.



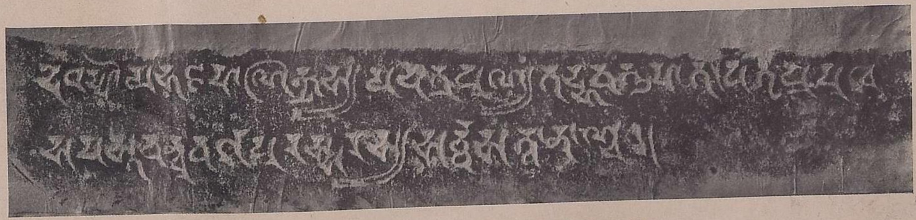
( *c* ) Votive Inscription of the Reign of Mahendrapāladeva.



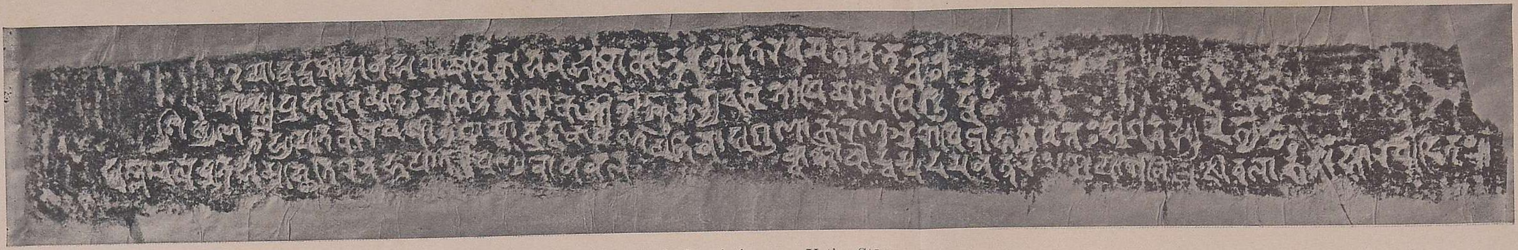
( *d* ) Votive Inscription.



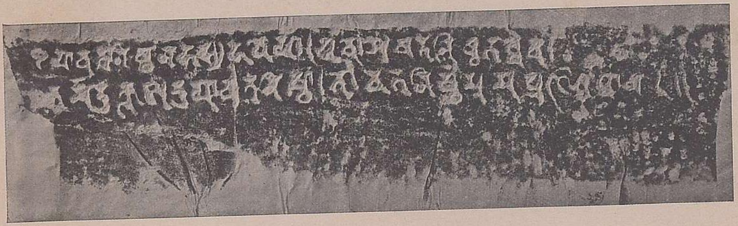
( *e* ) Saṅkarshaṇa Image Inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva.



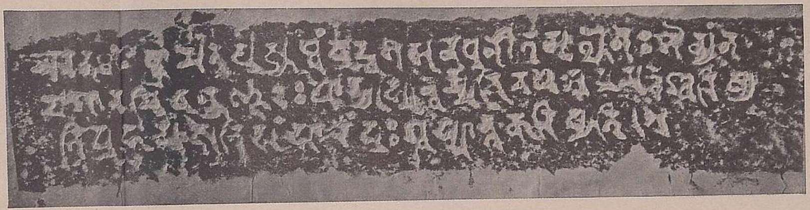
( *f* ) Votive Stone Image Inscription of Bhaṭṭamāṇikya.



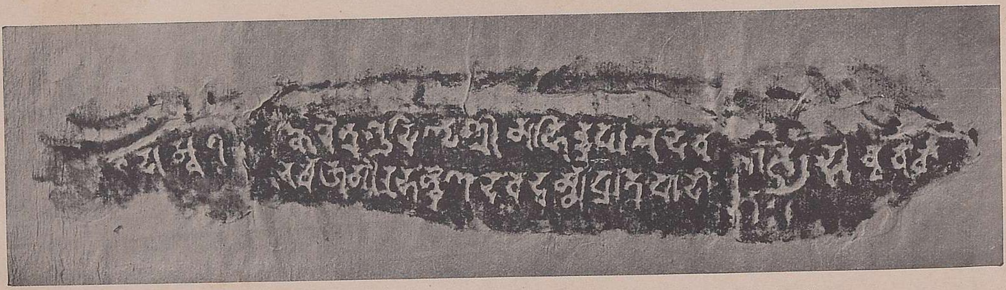
( *a* ) Inscription on a Votive Stūpa.



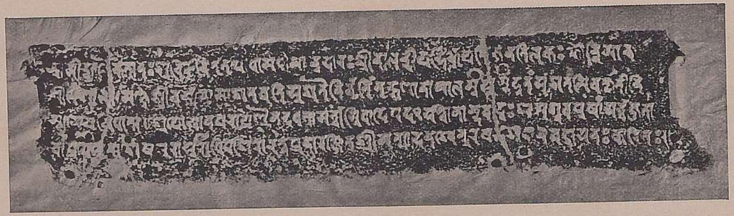
( *b* ) Inscription on a Votive Stūpa.



( *c* ) Inscription on a Votive Stūpa.



( *d* ) Buddha Image Inscription of the Reign of Mahendrapāladeva from Bihar-Sharif.



( *e* ) An Undated Praśasti from Nālandā.

( *f* ) Votive Inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva.

( *g* ) Image Inscription of Udayabhadra.

( *a* ) Trailokyavijaya.

( *b* ) Śiva and Parvati.

( *c* ) Vishṇu.

( *d* ) Sūrya.

( *e* ) Chaṇḍikā.

( *f* ) Nāgārjuna. (?)

( *g* ) Padmapāṇi.

( *h* ) Buddha in Bhūmisparśamudra.

( *a* ) Yamāntaka.

( *b* ) Buddha in Dhyānamudrā.

( *c* ) Mahāsarasvatī.

( *d* ) Vasudhara.

( *e* ) Unidentified Goddess.

( *f* ) Metal Image from Java.

( *g* ) Standing Buddha in Abhayamudrā.

( *h* ) Eighteen-armed Tārā.